

FBIS

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MAGYAR HIRLAP FAULTS BONN'S ANTICIPATED VIENNA MBFR PROPOSAL

AU291520 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Nov 79 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "A Proposal of Dubious Value"]

[Text] Analyzing the consequences of deploying new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in West Europe at a Bonn press conference, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko warned that a NATO decision sanctioning their deployment would complicate the situation at the Vienna troop reduction talks as well.

On behalf of the Warsaw Pact countries, the head of the Hungarian delegation called the attention of the NATO countries' representatives to that in Vienna last week. In a speech, our country's representative pointed out that the deployment of nuclear missiles on our continent would enhance the danger of confrontation and would directly endanger the security of the flank countries of the Warsaw Pact, including Hungary. The propagators and supporters of the deployment plan are aware of that too, and, therefore, they are dishing up various proposals to discuss fundamentally in order to set public opinion at ease in their countries. One of those highly publicized proposals--one that is intended to be submitted in Vienna--comes from the FRG Government. At a meeting of the parliamentary faction of the SPD--the Social Democrats--Chancellor Helmut Schmidt himself announced that, to further the Vienna troop reduction talks, his government will make a proposal for the Western military bloc in Vienna.

It would be suggested in the proposal propagated in Bonn as a NATO disarmament counter-offensive that, as the first step in reducing troops in central Europe, the United States should withdraw 12,500 soldiers and the Soviet Union should withdraw 30,000 soldiers from Europe. Still, not even the authors of this plan can seriously believe that they could further the Vienna talks by submitting such a plan because now as before, they are demanding that the Soviet Union should implement a reduction 2 and 1/2 times as great as that of the United States.

The proposal, which is aimed at gaining a unilateral advantage, is nothing but window-dressing. It does not signify the abandonment, but a repackaging of armament plans, with the objective of making them more acceptable. Those who present it think they can initiate a new and dangerous round of the arms race while they create an appearance of a desire to negotiate.

It really is time to move out of the impasse at the troop reduction talks in Vienna. However, that cannot be achieved through deploying new missiles in West Europe or through submitting one more proposal to gain an advantage.

MSZMP'S BEREZ CRITICIZES EUROPEAN MISSILE MODERNIZATION

AU291341 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 79 p 3 AU

[Article by Janos Berecz: "Responsibility for Europe"]

[Excerpt] What would the sanctioning of the U.S. concept to deploy almost 600 Pershing II and cruise missiles in Great Britain, the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy mean? Primarily the fact that the danger to Europe as a whole would considerably increase; and not only the danger to the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, but also to the NATO countries. West Europe would become a forward defense area of the United States, and in that case, the socialist countries would have no other choice other than to respond to the challenge and take steps to compensate for the variation in strength.

Thus, essentially, the aspirations of the U.S. leadership are aimed at modifying the present global parity of strength to their own advantage, while they hope to reduce the danger to the United States to the detriment of West Europe. (The issue also has an economic side, which should not be underestimated. The gain of a rich profit by the U.S. war industry monopolies that would produce the weapons in question would mean, according to experts, a burden of \$3-5 billion to the taxpayers of the West European countries concerned.) There emerges the revival of a modified version of an old policy here: "Let Europe dance on the brink of a warlike precipice!" That concept is consistent with the Chinese leadership's anti-Soviet objectives as well. That is why Hua Guofeng urged the countries concerned to establish a "Eurostrategic" missile system on his West European tour.

False argumentation is presented in the propaganda campaign by extremist circles in the capitalist world that it is only possible to negotiate with the Soviet Union on a reduction of the number of medium-range nuclear carriers if they do not sit down at the table "empty-handed"--that is to say, that they have to arm. That is one more argument that does not stand up to the test of practice. According to NATO's own published figures, the NATO countries possess today 1,200 medium-range carriers--the British-made Vulcan and the American F-111 bombers and various missiles and nuclear submarines--which are capable of reaching the European areas of the Soviet Union and the rest of the Warsaw Pact countries.

The peoples of Europe have come once more to the crossroads of a strengthening of detente or an increase in the danger of war. The question is whether they are going to tolerate the fomenting of an increasingly costlier arms race or whether, considering the military balance of power, make the principle of mutual security prevail by continuing to pursue and progress further on the path of peaceful coexistence. It is up to the peoples of Europe whether our common homeland, in a broader sense, should be the fertile soil of the final act signed in Helsinki or the target of missiles and the cemetery of peoples.

There is only one feasible path for halting the endangerment of Europe and strengthen the security of our peoples: the path of negotiations and coming to terms. That is served by the Warsaw Pact countries' initiatives and the proposals made known by Leonid Brezhnev on 6 October and 6 November. Through them, specific negotiations and practical steps are made possible toward alleviating military confrontation. Displaying good intentions toward initiatives which foster an increase of trust would serve the peaceful development of Europe as a whole and the strengthening of world peace. The seriousness of the Soviet Union's intentions is also borne out by the announced unilateral disarmament measures. They authenticated Andrey Gromyko's words when, during his Bonn talks, he unmasked the contradiction inherent in statements about the production and deployment of more modern missiles and disarmament negotiations later. Negotiations should be held now, without delay.

It is in the vital interest of Europe that West European governments should also pursue the path of coming to terms and should not take unilateral steps involving dangerous consequences. The position that has developed in the 7 and 8 November debate of the Dutch Parliament is a cautious attempt to delay a final decision and give priority to disarmament negotiations. Nevertheless, even that cautious attempt has elicited an act of such dimensions by NATO circles that the question rightly arises: Who disposes of the sovereignty of the Netherlands, the Dutch Parliament or NATO?

Armament results in an inordinate strengthening of militarism in West Europe. The independence and sovereignty of individual countries is increasingly subordinated to the interests and decisions of a militarist center above nations.

That is one more reason that, in the defense of detente, there is now more need than ever before to take specific action and mobilize the broadest masses on the continent.

SOFIA RADIO REPORTS ON CARTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE

AU291547 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0530 GMT 29 Nov 79 AU

[Text] U.S. President Carter's press conference last night, which was expected to shed light on the U.S. stand regarding the U.S.-Iranian conflict, was met with keen interest. Carter stated that he personally approved granting the Iranian shah an entry visa which brought about an exacerbation in the Washington-Tehran relations. The president declined to reply to the question of what would happen if the crisis continues to deepen or prolong itself. However, he added, he could undertake other actions after exhausting the peaceful means for the solution of the conflict.

PROGRESS IN SOVIET ECONOMY DEFENDED AGAINST WESTERN ATTACKS

AU292053 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 29 Nov 79 AU

["Speculations and Reality"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA newsanalyst Lyubomir Dimitrov)--Loyal to its usual "reflexes," Western propaganda hastened to look in Mr Brezhnev's latest speech for those signs of economic stagnation in the Soviet Union or at least of a slowed-down tempo of which they have dreamed since long. Obviously, deep in itself it is disappointing because however "stern and critical" the Soviet leader's speech might have been (in the words of one of the Western observers), it did not offer the necessary "fare" and the pens had again to strain. With their pessimistic selectivity with respect to the facts in the countries of real socialism, Western propaganda passes over in silence the figures which indicate that this year again the Soviet Union scored considerable headway in the development of its economy, in further raising the material and cultural standards of the Soviet working people. In exchange, what is at hand is the usual zest to look at any cost for shortcomings, be they imagined or real.

The planned progress of the Soviet economy continues. If in some respects there are unsatisfactory results, they in no way can be regarded as a chronic ailment of the Soviet economy as this is noticed in the capitalist societies. Besides, the fact that the Soviet Union has made this new step forward under the conditions of an adverse international economic situation should be taken into considerations. Moreover, it could be recalled that the Soviet Union worked out its long-term plan for the five-year period at a time when the economic crisis in the West had not reached its present dimensions. In this sense the corrections in the 1980 annual plan, with which it is speculated, are not something strange, particularly as it is the matter of insignificant deviations.

"Less window-dressing and empty noise in work," Mr Brezhnev said in his speech. "The talk with the Soviet people should be frank, serious and well-argued." His speech was an example precisely of such a conversation. Such is the style of the Soviet party and state leadership. This is an unswerving policy of involving the broad working masses in solving the major state tasks. This is democracy in action, inherent only in the socialist society. It enhances the individual, makes him socially necessary, full-valued. It strengthens the collective spirit and rallies the forces. This is a guarantee of new successes.

TRADE PROTOCOL FOR 1980 SIGNED WITH CUBA

FL280044 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Nov 79 FL

[Text] In Sofia, Cuba and Bulgaria today signed a trade protocol for 1980 which provides for an increase of 12 percent compared to the current year. According to the document Bulgaria will export to Cuba machinery, medicines, spare parts, rolled metal, chemical and food products and will import from our country sugar, citrus fruits, fruit juices, copper, tobacco, liquors and other goods. The protocol was signed by Jose de la Fuente and Kirustu Popov, vice ministers of foreign trade of Cuba and Bulgaria, respectively.

CUBAN PEASANT LEADER ENDS VISIT, HAILS COOPERATION

FL221128 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 22 Nov 79 FL

[Text] Jose Ramirez Cruz, president of the Cuban National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), has stressed in Sofia the importance of Bulgarian assistance and experience to develop the principal tasks of Cuban peasants.

Shortly before leaving at the conclusion of his visit to Bulgaria which ended with the signing of a bilateral cooperation agreement until 1985 with the National Agrarian Union, the Cuban peasant leader said that the principal task being developed by ANAP is the creation of cooperatives on a voluntary basis.

In Cuba, he said, there were 641 cooperatives as of 31 October which represent the beginning of a process in various parts of the country. Many of these cooperatives already have made their first economic balance sheet with very good results.

Referring to cooperation between the two countries, the ANAP president expressed Cuba's satisfaction with the training and qualification courses which the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union has offered Cuban peasant leaders in which the latter were able to put theories to work.

During the just concluded visit, Ramirez Cruz toured agroindustrial centers in Pleven District. He also visited Sofia's cooperative market where the people can obtain farm products that are difficult to centralize or which require a local market due to their short perishability period, as well as surpluses of production plans.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF MINISTER OF EDUCATION

Meeting With Todorov

AU202144 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 20 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Sofia, Nov. 20 (BTA)--Today, Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Khrisostomos Sofianos, minister of education and culture of Cyprus.

The meeting, which passed off in friendly atmosphere, (?was also) attended by Mrs Drazha Vulcheva, minister of public education.

An opinion was expressed at the meeting that relations between Bulgaria and Cyprus developed very well in many spheres and a stress was laid on the mutual wish to further expand cooperation in education and culture.

21 November Departure

AU211301 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 21 Nov 79 AU

[Text] On 21 November Khrisostomos Sofianos, Cyprus minister of education and culture, departed from the country. During his visit the Cypriot guest was briefed on the development of Bulgaria's education as well as the structure and characteristics of the country's cultural life. He met with Lyudmila Zhivkova, chairman of the Committee on Culture, and Drazha Vulcheva, minister of national education.

The Cypriot minister was also received by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The joint opinion that the Bulgarian-Cypriot relations are developing positively was expressed at the meeting. A mutual willingness to expand the cooperation in education and culture was also expressed.

At Sofia airport the Cypriot guest was seen off by Drazha Vulcheva, minister of national education.

REPORTAGE ON ACTIVITIES OF CYPRIOT PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

26 November Arrival

AU261722 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 26 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Sofia, November 26 (BTA)--A Cypriot parliamentary delegation for the first time arrived in Bulgaria, led by Mr Alekos Mikhailidhis, chairman of the House of Representatives of the Cypriot parliament.

This morning the Cypriot parliamentarists had official talks with Mr Vladimir Bonev, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, and with the members of the Bulgarian leadership. The two sides expressed a wish that this first contact of the parliaments of the two countries shall be perpetuated into a lasting cooperation. Underlined was the significant role of this cooperation for the expansion of the friendly ties between the two peoples, as well as for the expansion of bilateral relations in all spheres of life.

After the talks the Cypriot parliamentary delegation visited Mr Angel Chaushev, chairman of the Bulgarian side of the joint commission for economic, scientific and technological cooperation, who is also chairman of the Bulgarian Labor and Payments Committee.

Mr Mikhailidhis and Mr Chaushev noted with satisfaction that Bulgaro-Cypriot relations are developing well. In recent years bilateral trade has doubled and possibilities have opened up for the expansion and diversification of the forms of economic cooperation.

The Cypriot parliamentarists were received today by the Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim. In the evening they are scheduled to meet the chairman of the National Council of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front, Mr Pencho Kubadinski.

Meeting With Kubadinski

AU261735 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 26 Nov 79 AU

[Text] On 26 November the Cypriot parliamentary delegation led by Alekos Mikhailidhis, chairman of the House of Representatives of the Cypriot parliament, visited the Fatherland Front National Council.

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Pencho Kubadiniski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council and BCP Central Committee Politburo member, briefed the guests on the tasks presently being solved by Bulgaria's largest mass organization and on the participation of the people--through the Fatherland Front--in the country's government.

The common conviction that the visit of the Cypriot delegation will contribute to strengthening and further developing the Bulgarian-Cypriot relations was expressed at the meeting.

The Cypriot parliamentary delegation also visited Patriarch Maksim.

Received By Zhivkov

AU272020 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 27 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)--The president of the State Council, Mr Todor Zhivkov, today received the parliamentary delegation of Cyprus, headed by Mr Alekos Mikhailidhis, chairman of the House of Representatives of the parliament of Cyprus, which is on a visit here.

Greeting the guests, Mr Zhivkov expressed his confidence that these visit will contribute to the expansion of cooperation between Bulgaria and Cyprus and to the consolidation of the links between the parliaments of the two countries. He pointed out that relations between Bulgaria and Cyprus are developing favourably in the spirit of mutually advantageous cooperation and friendship. The Bulgarian leader reaffirmed the support Bulgaria is giving to the struggle of the people of Cyprus for the peaceful and equitable solution of the Cyprus question within the UN framework and for the preservation of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonalignment of Cyprus.

In his turn Mr Alekos Mikhailidhis pointed out that the people of Cyprus give high appraisal to the principled and consistent position of Bulgaria on the Cyprus problem.

Today immediately before their meeting with Mr Todor Zhivkov, the Cyprus members of parliament were received by the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, Mr Petur Mladenov.

PREMIER TODOROV GREET'S TURKEY'S DEMIREL ON ELECTION

AU272014 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 27 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Sofia, Nov 27 (BTA)--Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Ministerial Council, wired congratulations to Mr Suleyman Demirel, Turkey's prime minister, on the latter's election to this post.

The telegram conveys best wishes for prosperity and progress of the neighbouring Turkish people and the conviction is expressed that the fruitful Bulgaro-Turkish cooperation will continue to develop to the good of the two peoples, in the interest of peace in the Balkans and in the world.

IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER UNLIKELY TO ATTEND UN DEBATE

LD292132 Prague CTK in English 2004 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Tehran--Several hundred thousand people took part today in an anti-U.S. demonstration here. They adopted a resolution denouncing in advance any decision of the U.N. Security Council which would be at variance with the interests of the Iranian people.

The document called on the United States to extradite the shah to the Iranian authorities, and expressed support for the policies of Ayatollah Khomeyni. The text appeared to make it unlikely that the Iranian foreign minister will attend the Security Council session planned for Saturday.

The United States asked the International Court of Justice in The Hague to order Iran to release the 49 hostages held in the U.S. Embassy. The complaint said that Iran violated international conventions and usages, as well as the provisions of bilateral U.S.-Iranian agreements.

New York TIMES today reported that a Mexican plane, heavily guarded, is in readiness at Kennedy Airport in New York City, to take the overthrown shah back to Mexico following his expected release from hospital tomorrow.

Athens--The cruiser Albany flagship of the 6th U.S. Fleet, with its commander Rear Admiral William Small aboard, arrived today in the Greek port of Piraeus.

Its presence in the Mediterranean is believed to be in connection with the crisis in the U.S.-Iranian relations.

PLO REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES SOLIDARITY MEETING

LD271622 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT 27 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Prague--Chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for Solidarity with the Nations of Africa and Asia Miloslav Vacik stated Tuesday that "The Arab people of Palestine are today a force steeled in severe battles against imperialism and Zionism."

Speaking at a meeting of textile factory workers in Otin, South Bohemia, on the International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People (November 29), he pointed out that "Israel's long-time aggression, carried out and escalated in the pay and with continuing support of world imperialism, affects most tragically the Arab people of Palestine who have been deprived for over three decades of the possibility to exercise their inalienable rights."

'Atif Abu Bakr, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization Office in Czechoslovakia, stressed that "imperialism is no longer the decisive force in the Middle East as it was thirty years ago. The Arab national liberation movement is stronger, the Palestinian resistance movement gained considerable experience in combat and intensified its alliance with the forces of democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union," 'Atif Abu Bakr stressed.

The participants in the solidarity meeting passed a resolution assuring the "Palestinian friends that just as in the past we stand firmly on the side of their just struggle for recognition of national identity, the right to self-determination and formation of an independent state, which are basic preconditions for peace in the Middle East and for the preservation of peace in the whole world."

AUSTRIAN MEDIA'S TREATMENT OF PAHR'S VISIT 'DESTRUCTIVE'

AU261700 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Nov 79 p 7 AU

[Karol Turan commentary in the column "A Foreign Policy Note": "From the Position of an Investigator"]

[Text] The Austrian bourgeois media of mass information and propaganda approached the official visit to the CSSR of Willibald Pahr, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, in a rather peculiar way. It must be said that even before the trip the bourgeois press exerted pressure on the Austrian Government to cancel the visit by the minister of foreign affairs to Czechoslovakia and thus strove to disturb the positively developing Czechoslovak-Austrian relations.

After the failure of those plans, the audacity of some Austrian journalists went so far that after Minister W. Pahr's return from Czechoslovakia they began to reproach him--and, along with him, the entire Austrian foreign policy--for not having used the trip to pursue the goals of Brzezinski's concept regarding the "subversion of socialism from within."

According to the bourgeois press, Minister W. Pahr made himself "guilty" by failing during his stay in Prague to meet so-called dissidents, as they call the handful of people associated around the "Charter." An Austrian television reporter, for instance, was not at all interested in the results of W. Pahr's talks with CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Chnoupek but his first question was: "Why have you not met with the dissidents?" Even the minister's reply that he had not received a request for such a meeting did not satisfy the reporter and he went on probing, in the style of an investigator.

The same spirit was also seen in some Austrian papers--not only the tabloids NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG and KURIER but also in DIE PRESSE, which claims to be independent. Journalism that pursues destructive instead of constructive aims in relations between two states is warped and topsy-turvy. Here it seems to be more important than anywhere else to recall the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The bourgeois press, which persistently and stubbornly turns its attention to Czechoslovakia in the role of "defenders of human rights", is seeking "sensations" where they cannot be found, probably to please their "spiritual fathers" in the anticommunist centrals. The reading public does not show any gratitude--on the contrary, it discerns the malicious plans behind those campaigns to disturb neighborly relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria, which are mutually beneficial and that contribute to the overall good atmosphere in Europe, in which each honestly thinking person has a sincere interest.

AUSTRIA REALIZES NECESSITY OF NUCLEAR POWER

AU210959 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 79 p 3 AU

[Ladislav Alster article: "About Crude Oil and its Price, and About Energy Problems"]

[Excerpt] On the whole, leading political representatives of the capitalist world share the view, as the French example shows, that nuclear energy must gradually assume a leading role. Forcing through this solution, is not a simple matter, however; it is precisely here that the oil monopolies are putting up a silent and bitter, behind-the-scenes resistance. The case of neighboring Austria is typical. At the end of 1978 a referendum held there halted the construction at Zwentendorf of Austria's only nuclear powerplant. [paragraph continues]

At that time public opinion succumbed to the manipulation of the oil monopolies and of false "protectors of the environment." Reports in the Austrian press reveal that even citizens are now beginning to realize the necessity of building nuclear powerplants.

VIENNA BURGTHEATER'S DISSIDENTS' PLAYS POORLY RECEIVED

LD281312 Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 27 Nov 79 LD

[Text] The Vienna Burgtheater had and still has a reputation in Europe. But lately it has been staging works which are not liked even by its most loyal fans in Austria.

The performance of the one-act play "Protest" by Vaclav Havel, one of the inspirers and organizers of the so-called Charter-77, and "The Attestation" by Pavel Kohout, who was stripped of his Czechoslovak citizenship for his anti-Czechoslovak activities, and who now lives in Austria, has aroused criticism of this Vienna theater in the paper WIENER ZEITUNG, which is worth quoting. The two one-act plays are deplorably bad pieces of indescribably poor and frightening amateurism that it is hard to believe that the two playwrights have for years been successful authors.

Even though the above verdict would be quite sufficient for the withdrawal of the two flops, the Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG adds: It is even harder to believe that the two staged patchworks are winners of Austrian state prizes for European literature. All that was shown on the stage of the respected Burgtheater, according to the paper, was at best of the standard of an unsuccessful graduation performance. The artistic experience was zero.

In brief, the Burgtheater missed the mark with these two authors. The audience and the critics judge only what is on the stage: They are not interested in the back-stage political machinations of this Vienna theater.

What are we to add? Such a repertoire will not take the world by storm. The WIENER ZEITUNG, which is accustomed to many things, writes: Where there is nothing you can't invent anything. As to Havel and Kohout, WIENER ZEITUNG says nothing new. The audience wants art and not pseudopolitical lampoons. One cannot but hope that the Burgtheater management will realize this before it is too late and the last audiences take to their heels. It is, however, hard to expect that such a fiasco will teach a lesson to those in the West who use shipwrecked adversaries of Czechoslovakia for anti-Czechoslovak incitement even in the form of literary lampoons.

DISSIDENTS, 'RENEGADE' EMIGREES LINKED TO BEIJING

LD281846 Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 0800 GMT 28 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Stefan Babiak now comments on the fraternization between Czechoslovak renegades and the Chinese Maoists:

A drowning person grasps at straws, an old proverb says, and this also applies fully to Czechoslovak renegades and traitors who are looking for allies regardless of their political views. Where they find them is demonstrated most clearly by the case of Zdenek Mlynar, one of the inspirers of the so-called "revival process" in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and a fraternizer with the West German revanchists. The fact that the moving force of such an alliance is the effort of bankrupt politicians, now living in the West, at least to keep their head above water, is not hard to prove. They unmask themselves when they cast off their democratic cloak without scruples and humbly carry out the dirty work of their masters.

It now appears that those who have betrayed their country are being employed not only by the most reactionary circles in West Europe. The trip by Jiri Pelikan, former director of Czechoslovak Television, now living in Italy, to Beijing has proved that the Chinese Maoists are equally interested in them.

The Beijing leaders have demonstrated more than once that in their political activities they are guided by the principle: The enemy of my enemy is my friend. When the top Chinese representative, Hua Guofeng, during his West European tour proudly demonstrated his unlimited sympathy for such representatives of extreme European reaction as Franz Josef Strauss or Margaret Thatcher, one cannot be surprised that he is very close to their servants as well.

Beijing is not concerned about the political orientation of its allies. It accepts the South African racists just as gladly as the Chilean fascists, the Israeli Zionists, West German revanchists, or traitors and renegades of Pelikan's ilk. Such people are to form the backbone of anti-Soviet and antisocialist alliance which the Chinese leaders want to patch together.

In their anticommunist blindness, the Maoists have, however, overlooked the fact that putting their stakes on an alliance with people like Pelikan has no future, just as all previous plans in which this man has appeared have come to naught. In their hatred they gratefully accept anyone and anything they can use in their initiatives directed against peace. Renegades like Pelikan, who have found themselves on the fringe of political events, are in turn, ready to serve even such reactionaries and warmongers as the Beijing Maoists.

In brief, a drowning person grasps at straws.

MLYNAR CRITICIZED FOR SUPPORT OF FRG'S STRAUSS

AU211231 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 79 p 2 AU

[Vaclav Dolezal article: "Mlynar Put His Money on Strauss"]

[Text] Zdenek Mlynar has already done quite a few political somersaults. From being an extremely radical communist in the fifties he proceeded to take his place among the "reform communists" of 1968, when he held the function of PCPZ Central Committee secretary. A few years later he was already appearing in the pages of the foreign press as a "defender of human rights" on behalf of the so-called Charter 77. Now he has done yet another somersault, this time well to the right--he has put his money on Franz Josef Strauss.

Mlynar, who consider himself a kind of Charter 77 exponent abroad, categorically demands from the small group of so-called ex-communists that it leave aside "all petty disputes around the German question"--allegedly in the interests of a uniform course of the "opposition"--because, he says, in the next 10 years or more power in the FRG will be held by the CDU/CSU coalition. In brief, he demands that the "domestic" emigres rally around the charter, and, together with the emigres abroad, reorient themselves toward the line taken by F.J. Strauss, whom Mlynar regards even now, 1 year before the Federal Assembly elections, as the future federal chancellor in Bonn. This is unpalatable fare even for many of those to whom he addressed his appeal.

In fact, the disputes around the so-called German question, which split the emigres both abroad and at home into two feuding camps, are not so petty after all; they concern fundamental issues affecting the Czech's and Slovaks' national and state existence. The disputes were evoked this February by an article published by somebody called "Danubius" in Tigrid's emigree quarterly SVEDECTVI. [paragraph continues]

In the article, and alleged Slovak historian, hiding behind the pseudonym "Danubius," tries to "revise" the question of the evacuation of the Germans by absolving Henlein and his followers of the blame for the breakup of the republic, for Munich and its consequences for our nations, in the exact spirit of the revanchist arguments used by Becher and company and by calling for an "atonement for the evacuation." He said that "the struggle for the central European sphere inhabited by the Czechs and Slovaks will continue between Russia and Germany" and that the evacuation had "destroyed the possibility of two alternatives in favor of a single alternative". Briefly, he said that in order to reverse Czechoslovakia's present orientation toward the Soviet Union and to implement the "West's German alternative," the matter of the evacuation of the Germans must be first be revised.

The opinions of "Danubius" provoked indignant disagreement among many emigres, who reproached Tigrid for publishing such an article at all. They declared that they regard the evacuation of the German minority as a "definite solution of a very painful and tragic question, both in the interests of undisturbed friendly relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia and also in the interests of European order and peace." They also pointed out that by formulating the question of the evacuation in this manner, this "Canubius" individual raises the question of a revision of the results of World War II and of an abandonment of the policy of detente and peace on the European continent.

Emigree Zdenek Mlynar, who is living in Vienna and whose nate-filled anti-Sovietism has already led him to the positions of revanchism, has identified himself with the opinions of "Danubius." By using camouflaging words about the necessity of "searching for ways out of today's reality" and "reassessing" what Czechoslovak policy achieved in 1945 and thereafter, he was, in fact, proclaiming: If a change is to be achieved in the present status quo in central Europe, one must start by revising the year 1945. He has thus quite identified himself with the revanchist circles in the FRG, which have found their political domicile in Mr F.J. Strauss' party.

He most certainly is not the first post-August [1968] emigree to throw an anchor in revanchist waters. He has predecessors in Pachman, Stroebling and the like, who became Becher's direct colleagues. Mlynar is not the last person to reach the rock bottom of betrayal. Now he is appealing to his ex-fellow-travelers from the "Charter" to follow him.

One of them has already done so in advance. As the post-August emigree Janyr revealed this February in the West German paper FRANKFURTHER RUNDSCHAU the "Danubius" individual, around whose "theses" there arose such strife among the emigree, belongs to the small Prague group of "Chartists." There is only one Slovak in this small group, who also regards himself as an historian--Jan Mlynarik. Some people in this small group have identified themselves with his opinions; others have sharply rejected them. These last have let Tigrid know that the "Danubius" political pamphlet, which turns historic facts upside down, has merely introduced strife into their ranks.

Now Mlynar would like to patch up this split. He is letting the "ex-communists" know that the "opposition" must unite on a common course. And since, he says, after coming to power Strauss can be expected to force the Soviet Union "not only to sacrifice the GDR, but also to agree to a renewal of the former Third Reich's borders of 1939," that is, a renewal of the post-Munich borders. Mlynar insists that the "ex-communists and the entire Czechoslovak opposition," has he calls the mere handful rallied around the "Charter," should therefore agree in advance on "a certain form of apology to the German nation." This, allegedly, is necessary for it to be able to take advantage of Strauss' policy and also in order that "our small state" would not again become the object of the "solution of European problems," but would figure as a partner of Strauss' future reich, and even as "the needle of the balance."

Certain people to whom Mlynar addressed his appeal have called his opinions mere "fantasy." They are very well aware of the changes that took place in the world after the war, and they know that Mlynar's opinions completely contradict our nations' way of thinking and feeling.

Mlynar is merely treading in the footsteps of those who share the blame for our nation's tragedy at the end of the thirties. In the pre-Munich republic there also emerged pseudopatriots who, out of hatred for the Soviet Union and communism, welcomed Hitler's rise to power no less ardently than Mlynar is today wishing for a Strauss victory in the elections. For instance, the ancient "leader" of the National Unification [party in prewar Czechoslovakia], Kramar, expressed his pleasure about "Hitler proclaiming Germany a bulwark of European civilization against bolshevism". This, he said, must be welcomed even though "the German longing for expansion to the East is at the back of it." Chairman of the Agrarian Party Beran ganged up with Henlein, and even wanted to help his party to become a member of the republic's government, since he expected Henlein to aid him in diverting Czechoslovakia's foreign policy from an alliance with the Soviet Union and leading it to cooperation with Hitlerite Germany. There were even those among the Czechs and Slovaks who, for the sake of Judas silver from abroad, helped Hitler break up the republic and enslave the nation. In the Czech lands they belonged to the political fascist sediment around the Vlastka organization, to which the former princes Thun and Schwarzenberg belonged, and in Slovakia they were people like Tuka, Durcinsky and other Hlinka-type clericofascists, paid directly by the Vienna branch of the Nazi espionage.

As can be seen, this is nothing new under the sun. The only thing is, as Karl Marx wrote, that everything in history repeats itself, one time as a tragedy, the next time as a farce.

Mlynar's game is truly a farce, which can scarcely be taken seriously either by his former fellow-travellers in Prague, or by the people in Munich, to whom he is offering his services. The comic thing in this farce is that Mlynar, whom the social democrats regard as their man and whom they remunerate accordingly, is even today putting his money on Strauss, as the grave-digger of Brandt's and Schmidt's "Ostpolitik" and of the policy of detente coupled to it. After all, Mlynar always had this kind of reward for those who trusted him.

U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, WAY OF LIFE CRITICIZED

AU291031 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Nov 79 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "The Right of Mankind to Peace"]

[Text] At present, in the contemporary world there is no greater, more urgent and more binding question than the one that concerns the fate of whole nations, that affects white people and black, Christians and agnostics, the rich and the poor, a question that concerns each of us, inhabitants of the earth. Yes, it is the question of peace. This question must stir each man, no matter which society he lives in and what position he holds in it, irrespective of his homeland, his political conviction or religious belief. After all, man can dream, plan, work and rest, love and be happy, have longings and pleasures, build a house, cultivate an orchard, raise children, he can have all that to fill his life but a single moment, a single terrible moment, could be enough to put an end to everything. For a man who is threatened with war it does not matter whether it is a strategic or a tactical weapon that might put an end to his hopes and dreams and to his existence or whether it is an ordinary bomb or a hydrogen bomb that might fall on his house. After all, even an air gun can destroy man's life if it is aimed at him.

Indeed, weapons are being aimed at man: The present weapons, their enormous destructive force, represent a threat to the very existence of mankind. That is why the question of peace is becoming the most important and most responsible issue that has ever confronted mankind in its history. That is why peace is assuming a universal dimension, why it is mankind's most universal interest and also its greatest right. To work and live in peace is not merely the right of one man or a group of people, it is the right of mankind. That is why it must also be at the top of the list of human rights, at the peak of the pyramid of values and the priority interest of nations and their struggle.

Whoever preaches human rights while neglecting, in his deeds, the greatest and most fundamental right--the right of mankind to peace, security and peaceful cooperation--is a swindler of the grossest sort, regardless of whether he sits in a presidential palace or a minister's chair, in the administrative council of a military-industrial complex or in an influential political party. Because it is only bothering about the struggle for human rights when the fate of only a few individuals (and that always in the socialist countries) is presented as such while the real, vital interests of hundreds of millions of people, of whole nations, are being completely ignored, to say nothing of the fact that for millions of working people even the other, civil rights are nothing more than a mere declaration in the countries that speak about them so vociferously.

The United States--or rather, its ruling circles, armaments and other monopolies, its reactionary forces--is in many ways a classic example of a country where there is a concentration of anticommunism, aspirations to rule the world and a real threat of war aggressions. It is no secret--and the United States' Western allies know it better than anyone else, from their own practice--that the United States is laying claim to the right to be a leading country not only with regard to the Western world, but to the whole world. By means of political, military and economic force it is trying to impose its views on others, exercise its influence and implement its policy aimed at world domination. The Western world's hackneyed sayings about democracy are abandoned when, for instance, communist participation in government is at stake--as what the case in Italy. In such cases "democracy" must give way to open pressure.

The reactionary circles are ready to organize campaigns in defense of the "oppressed" civil rights of the Mlynars, Kohouts and a few individuals like them and to call the trial against a tiny group of people who broke valid laws almost a "trial of the century," but they remain indifferent to the Klu Klux Klan's terrorist action in Greensboro where the racists--without reason and justification--shot six people to death like rabbits. They even rebuke us--through the transmitter they maintain in Europe--for being allegedly upset by the fact that some beggar died in a Washington street, for lacking understanding for the "anachronism" of the Ku Klux Klan and for being unable to perceive the problem of racism in the United States, as though there existed no other, nice things there. Certainly, there are such things. Yet, apart from them--and not insignificant--there is also mass unemployment, racism, crime and all the terrifying aspects of the ultra-exploitative system and its shocking way of life. Yet, according to them, he who does not acknowledge the "quality" of the American way of life is worthy of contempt. Simply, in their country everyone is free, and it is not important, as they claim, if he has no job, if he cannot afford to pay a physician, cannot study, does not have the same rights because of the color of his skin or has not security in life.

In our country there is nothing like America's official "Institute for the Research of Poverty of the American People"--we are in the lucky position not to need it. But what is the use, compared with the American housewives our housewives are "unfree" because, while shopping, they cannot communicate with their daughters by way of citizens' band radio or even, as the commercials have it--and they present it as a manifestation of "democracy"--with the first lady of the state. Our children cannot play with sophisticated electronic toys on which one can simulate, for instance, a war between the USSR and China or a civil war in the United States or Canada, or with other toys that stimulate the fantasy of children and adults and cultivate in them a "militant" spirit. [paragraph continues]

In contrast to American children, our children cannot watch on television the classical fairy tale about Little Red Riding Hood with Little Red Riding Hood wearing a dress similar to the American flag and the wolf bearing the Soviet emblem, even if it were the other way round. From the very beginning American children must know that their great country is for peace and is threatened and that it is only communism that wants war. After all, the more the "theory" about the alleged Soviet threat gains ground in public opinion, the easier it will be to push through the growing armaments expenditures. According to Americans, even the other Western countries must be threatened with the Soviet danger, to be willing to "complete their armament."

However, there is an ever increasing number of people who possess common sense and assert the only realistic policy, who even press their governments to resist the American plans for "completing the armament" of NATO. We have witnessed it recently in Holland and Belgium and are grateful to the people of those countries that they--unlike the governments of several other states--have not forgotten the suffering and the terror they went through in the last world war and want to preserve peace for their children. Bombs fell even on London, yet the present ruler of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher is not exactly among the ardent defenders of peace. The information media in that country are evoking, by means of a spy-mania, an anticommunist and--in essence--antipeace hysteria.

More than 50 years ago mankind was given a fateful chance--to build a new social order that would be more progressive and more just than the preceding systems, an order that would be a model for the future of whole mankind. No new society is born--as we know--with ease, or without victims. We, too, have our own experiences with regard to the tenacious class struggle, which finally resulted in victory. We have achieved a great deal and have in many respects demonstrated indisputable advantages. Above all, the life of the working people has undergone a revolutionary change; free of exploitation they could advance more freely and boldly. We have not reached the end of the road and do not think that we are perfect. We are fully aware of the problems we have to grapple with.

We have never concealed that in our revolutionary struggle we have been guided by a class viewpoint, that we assert the right of the most numerous class of workers and their immediate allies, that we deny the right of the bourgeoisie and, therefore, also reject its bourgeois democracies and its bourgeois concept of civil or human rights. We defend the right of the working man; we defend the right of the majority against the minority and what is more democratic--to use the language of the defenders of the bourgeois democracy--than precisely this principle? That is why all the laments about the fact that one individual or another--may his name be Pavel or Havel--feels unfree because he is unable to undermine our social order and satisfy his ambitious aspirations, really leave us cold. We would be upset if a worker, cooperative farmer, scientist and technician, artist, simply anyone belonging to the working people--among whom we rank, naturally, also the socialist intelligentsia--could not work and live according to his concepts, according to his free will, if he could not develop his abilities and serve the cause of socialism, the people. That would upset us, but that, as is well known, does not at all upset our enemies and never will. After all, let them do what they wish. We, too, will act as we think appropriate and correct.

In their teachings the classics of our scientific world outlook substantiated--and revolutionary practice has confirmed it--that the workers class can liberate itself from exploitation only by liberating all working people. Its class struggle thus had, in a certain sense of the word, a truly general, universal character. In this context another analogy comes to mind--socialism can preserve peace for itself only by preserving it for all mankind. Peace is indivisible. Only a lunatic could think that the socialist community is only "playing" at peace while thinking of war aggressions.

Socialism needs peace vitally. However, all mankind needs it vitally. That is the basis on which the nations of the whole world meet--regardless of social systems, political conviction, religious belief or color of skin. If we want to use the expression: It is, indeed, here that the class borders are eradicated, that the borders of mankind meet. The highest, most sacred right of all people--the right to peace--is also concentrated here.

We are proud that it is precisely our friend and ally the Soviet Union, that bearer of the banner of peace, which tenaciously, tirelessly, calmly and with deliberation places the value of peace on the scales of life and death, which is the most serious and most responsible fighter for peace. We are proud that, by being allied with it, we are among the frontline fighters for peace, that we--just as the Soviet Union--are upholding it not only with words but, primarily, with deeds.

We consider peace not only the greatest civil and human right but the greatest value in general. We shall fight for it to the last breath. The initiative proposals submitted by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev in Berlin in October have found a strong response among our citizens. That was the case because they correspond to our own interests. People identify with them fully, they have welcomed and endorsed them. At the same time they expressed the hope that those who bear the responsibility for the peaceful fate of our planet will not close their ears to those proposals. Equally, we will support every proposal that will find a suitable answer to a possible negative stance on feverish armament, because one cannot only wish peace, one has to fight for peace. Peace must be defended.

CHNOUPEK RECEIVES BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY DELEGATION

LD272224 Prague CTK in English 1719 GMT 27 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Prague--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received here on Tuesday a Belgian delegation, led by General Director of the Belgian Foreign Ministry Albert Cahen, on the occasion of consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries. They discussed international topics and bilateral relations.

BEJDA RECEIVES BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY COMMITTEE

AU211330 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Nov 79 p 2 AU

[Unsigned report in the column "International Contacts": "Guests From the Bulgarian People's Republic"]

[Text] V. Bejda, head of a CPCZ Central Committee Department, yesterday [19 November] received a study delegation of the BCP Central Committee headed by T. Ganchev, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and Agitation. In a comradely talk they exchanged experience, particularly experience in the agitation activities of the two fraternal parties.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHED WITH GRENADA

LD282214 Prague CTK in English 1724 GMT 28 Nov 79 LD

[Text] New York--An agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Grenada was signed at the permanent Czechoslovak mission at the UN here on Wednesday. The agreement, which came into effect immediately, was signed by Czechoslovak Delegate to the UN Ilja Hulinsky and Delegate of Grenada to the UN Kendrick Bernard Radix. After Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad-Tobago, Grenada is the fourth state of the Caribbean to establish diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia.

CATHOLIC CLERGY SUPPORTS STATE'S DOMESTIC FOREIGN POLICIES

AU211333 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Nov 79 p 2 AU

[Text] Bratislava, CTK--P. Colotka, premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic yesterday [19 November] received in Bratislava, in the presence of SSR Minister of Culture M. Valek and of K. Homola, director general of the Secretariat for Church Affairs in the SSR Ministry of Culture, the newly elected presidium of the Pacem in Terris SSR Catholic Clergy Association, led by Canon G. Navratil, doctor of theology and the association's chairman. The reception was also attended by bishops and ordinaries of the Roman Catholic Church in Slovakia. The representatives of the Pacem in Terris Catholic Clergy Association informed the SSR premier about this movement's work and about the course and results of the second congress of their organization. In a friendly talk the association's presidium members and the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church--Bishop J. Feranec, doctor of theology and the ordinaries' chairman, spoke on their behalf--assured our state representatives that they would continue supporting the government's building program and would lead their believers toward this aim, in the interests of establishing good relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak State. Simultaneously, they professed allegiance to the noble aims of our foreign policy and to the peace efforts of the socialist community and of progressive mankind oriented toward banning the weapons of mass destruction, toward armament reduction and the elimination of war conflicts. They particularly expressed support for the Soviet Union's latest peace initiative, proclaimed by L.I. Brezhnev in Berlin. SSR Premier P. Colotka concluded the reception by thanking the Pacem in Terris SSR Catholic Clergy Association and the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church for their active contribution to the materialization of the peace program set up by the national front government, and expressed the hope that their activities would continue to take this direction also in the future.

BILAK, JAKES ADDRESS BOHEMIAN AKTIV IN PRAGUE

LD282233 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 28 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Milos Jakes, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPZC Central Committee, were present today at an aktiv of party functionaries of the Central Bohemian region held in Prague.

Comrade Vasil Bilak stressed the significance of the permanent raising of the effectiveness and quality of all work in implementing the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress. In analysing the current developments in the world, Comrade Bilak paid great attention to the response to the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the fight of the progressive forces of the entire world against the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe.

Comrade Milos Jakes spoke at the aktiv about the topical tasks of the further growth of our agriculture. He stressed that it is necessary further to improve the quality of the fodder supply and improve the management of agricultural enterprises as a prerequisite for the achieving of self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs.

About 2,000 participants in the aktiv adopted a resolution supporting the peace initiative of the Soviet Union delivered by Comrade Brezhnev in Berlin.

U.S. ORDERS PARTIAL EVACUATION OF DIPLOMATS FROM ISLAMIC STATES

AU291038 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 79 p 5 AU

[Text] The U.S. has started a "temporary evacuation" of some of its diplomats, their dependents and American businessmen from about 10 Islamic states. This was announced, according to DPA, by a spokesman of the Washington Foreign Ministry Monday night. He called the move a measure of caution on a voluntary basis.

It was not announced what countries are affected by this measure.

As printed by the Washington POST, the foreign ministry spokesman said that this makes "easier for the government to take energetic measures against Iran at a minimal risk it of massive retribution against Americans in other countries."

GROMYKO TO VISIT IN EARLY DECEMBER

LD291504 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1430 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Berlin--Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received P.A. Abrasimov, CPSU Central Committee member and Soviet ambassador to the GDR, who briefed him on the results of the recent plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

It was agreed during the meeting that A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet minister of foreign affairs, will pay a visit to the GDR within the next few days. The discussion took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

FLORIN PRESENTS PEACE DOCUMENT ON BREZHNEV PROPOSAL TO UN

LD291138 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0503 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] UN/New York--Deputy foreign minister and permanent representative at the United Nations, Peter Florin, presented UN Secretary General Dr Kurt Waldheim yesterday afternoon with the GDR declaration of intent regarding Leonid Brezhnev's peace initiative, and an accompanying letter from the president of the National Council of GDR National Front, Prof Dr Erich Correns. It reports on the outcome of the collection of signatures for the declaration of intent.

"It is evidence of the will for peace on the part of our state's citizens," the letter says "when 13,115,640 men, women and young people with various professions and jobs, different ideologies and religious beliefs, document with their signatures: We need peace and we want it for ourselves and for all peoples. We are for disarmament talks, and are against all plans to increase arms potential. The GDR citizens' expression of will is identical with the UN's declared main task: preserving peace."

Dr Waldheim expressed his thanks for the presentation of the declaration of intent and the letter. He welcomed the fact that he was informed of important decisions of this nature. "My basic view with regards the disarmament issue is well known," he said. "Disarmament is one of the most important problems of our time for the future of mankind and that is why I regard all disarmament efforts as an important contribution toward preserving peace."

Dr Waldheim was requested by Peter Florin to let the declaration of intent and the accompanying letter be circulated as documents of the UN Security Council.

SED SENDS GREETINGS TO RCP CONGRESS IN BUCHAREST

AU211045 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Nov 79 pp 1, 2 AU

[Text] Berlin (ND)--The SED Central Committee has sent a greetings message to the delegates of the 12th RCP Congress which opens today, Monday [19 November], in Bucharest. The message is signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee, and reads as follows:

The SED Central Committee extends cordial and fraternal militant greetings to the delegates of the 12th RCP Congress and to all communists and working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Under RCP leadership the working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania have accomplished far-reaching political and social transformations in the years of socialist construction.

We most cordially congratulate the people of the Socialist Republic of Romania on the significant successes achieved in creating the multifaceted developed socialist society.

The SED and the RCP are linked by firm ties of traditional solidarity among the German and Romanian workers movement and by common interests and aims in the building of socialism and in the anti-imperialist struggle. The cooperation among our parties is the decisive driving force for the promotion of the fruitful relations between our states and peoples. The further consolidation and development of these relations on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism agrees with the basic interests of our two states as well as those of the entire socialist community. The comradely collaboration of the fraternal states within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA multiplies our forces, strengthens every individual socialist country and thus enhances the refulgence of socialism in the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress.

Together with the fraternal parties the SED is employing all its forces in the international arena in order to insure the most favorable external conditions for socialist construction. Therefore we advocate that even more vigorous actions should be taken to consolidate detente in the international relations and to bring about real measures for ending the arms race.

We resolutely endorse the early ratification of the treaty on limiting strategic arms concluded between the USSR and the United States. We emphatically oppose the plans of the United States and NATO to deploy new weapons that threaten the entire mankind and we combat all the reactionary forces that oppose the continuance of the detente process. Together with the fraternal socialist countries and with all progressive forces, the GDR supports the most recent Soviet peace initiative announced by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev in the GDR capital of Berlin. It actively endorses its implementation.

The 12th RCP Congress will adopt new, significant decisions for the continuation of the building of the multifaceted developed socialist society in Romania.

The SED Central Committee wishes the communists and all working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania further successes in the socialist construction and in solving the tasks set forth by the 12th party congress.

BUDAPEST NOTES CARTER'S 28 NOVEMBER PRESS CONFERENCE

LD291325 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] In his press conference late last night, Carter dealt with the Iran crisis and answered questions about U.S.-Iranian relations. Istvan Kulcsar, our New York correspondent, reports:

The President's short introduction, as well as the majority of questions from pressmen, endeavored to limit the conference to the hostages situation at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. He said several times in different ways that the United States is ready to deploy all available means to free the hostages. He emphasized that his administration lends priority to a peaceful solution but did not exclude the deployment of other, non-peaceful means. He refrained from detailing these, as well as from setting a deadline on when the United States would end exploring peaceful means and when might employ nonpeaceful means.

Carter admitted that allowing the toppled shah into the United States was his decision alone and that even today he considers his decision correct. He said the former ruler will stay as long as the doctors advise U.S. medical treatment. The President squarely rejected U.S. participation in the examination of Reza Pahlavi's crimes against his own people. Asked about the valuables taken out of Iran by the former shah, he said that whoever has material demands on him may take the complaints to a civil court of law.

In relation to the current crisis, President Carter again proposed his own energy policy. As he said, the United States cannot be dependent on countries abroad for oil supplies.

NEWSWEEK DRAWS CRITICISM FOR MISLEADING ARTICLE ON IRAN

LD292142 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] While the United States still maintains that it wants to solve the Tehran hostages drama without resorting to military means, and that, according to the latest reports, it will turn to the international court in the Hague, a dozen or so of its warships are cruising around the entrance to the Persian Gulf. This is an open sea. The United States is entitled to do this--there is no international law against it. This is not where the trouble lies, but rather in the fact that there are other, greater or smaller, and in my view dangerous provocations, aimed primarily at manipulating U.S. public opinion.

Take a look at the latest--The 26 November issue of NEWSWEEK, a magazine which publishes 8 million copies each week. The front page shows the U.S. eagle losing its feathers. The title asks a question: Has America lost its clout? According to the article inside, the answer is no--so far, so good. However, the magazine has a special information section which publishes a report claiming that, according to unnamed European intelligence circles, the Soviet Union tried out its military mobility in October by airlifting vast consignments to the Middle East and Africa. In the course of 36 hours, a fleet of Antonov-22's supposedly conveyed two regiments--about 10,000 people--with armored vehicles and artillery from bases in southern Russia to South Yemen and Ethiopia.

It is said--the article claims--that the route followed the Turkish-Iranian border to Syria and Iraq, where the planes landed for refuelling, and then flew over the Persian Gulf to their destinations, thus avoiding the Arabian Peninsula. [paragraph continues]

The magazine has the map you can see here. The article then reports that 36 hours later the planes flew back along the same route. Finally, in one short sentence it mentions that there are a number of U.S. radar stations along this route and that the Pentagon denies any knowledge of the flights.

Thus, on the surface, the article is very objective. However, this is a very tricky matter. If I wanted to dramatize matters, I could say that this was veritable warmongering, for what does the report say? That 10,000 Soviet soldiers, armored vehicles and artillery have been moved by a route along the Turkish-Iranian border, in the area of the Persian Gulf, avoiding the Arabian Peninsula. Admittedly, the report adds that the Pentagon is unaware of this--but it does not say that thus it did not occur, as the Pentagon would have had to know about it, only that the Pentagon is unaware of it.

The Soviet Army paper, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has, by the way, officially denied the report, but allegations of this sort can create an atmosphere in which U.S. public opinion becomes impatient for an opportunity for the United States to regain its striking power--if need be--by using the warships stationed in the area of the Persian Gulf.

NEPSZABADSAG QUOTES TASS ON IRAN-RELATED DEVELOPMENTS

AU291507 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 79 p 2 AU

[Excerpt] TASS reports that U.S. Gen [as published] Clifford M. Alexander will begin a 10-day Middle East tour on Monday [26 November], during which he will visit Israel, Egypt and Sudan. Observers are calling attention to the fact that the tour will take place precisely at a time when U.S.-Iran relations are growing increasingly critical and when Washington is unmistakably threatening a military solution.

Finally, the Soviet news agency referred to a television speech by the Ayatollah Khomeini Friday [23 November] evening. In it, the religious leader virtually called for a "holy war" in the eventuality that the United States actually commits itself to a military step against Iran.

CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH CSSR

ID292010 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 29 Nov 79 ID

[Text] Budapest, November 29, (MTI)--The 19th session of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Cultural and Educational Working Committee ended in Budapest on Thursday with the signing of a protocol. At the talks the partners pointed out the need for concluding a new cultural agreement as well as for the elaboration of an inter-governmental accord regulating the committee's activities. They offered to further develop their cooperation involving nationalities--on the basis of Leninist nationality principles--in the spheres of culture, education and sciences.

The protocol of the discussions was initialled by Hungarian Under Secretary Janos Gosztonyi and Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Dusan Spacil, leaders of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak delegations respectively.

OVARI, MAROTHY RECEIVE FINNISH YOUTH DELEGATION

LD292012 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)--Miklos Ovari, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee, received the delegation of the Finnish Democratic Youth Federation (SDNL) headed by President Markku Kaerkkainen on Thursday. Also present at the meeting was Laszlo Marothy, member of the HSWP Political Committee and first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Youth Union (KISZ) Central Committee.

The closing round of talks between the leaders of KISZ and SNDL took place on Thursday. Following the discussions, a cooperation agreement was signed by Laszlo Marothy and Markku Kaerkkainen.

The SDNL delegation ended its three-day visit to Hungary. During its stay in Budapest, it also called at the headquarters of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The Finnish youth delegation left Budapest on Thursday afternoon.

LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS TO SFYR COUNTERPARTS

LD291206 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)--On the occasion of Yugoslavia's National Day, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, sent the following telegram to Josip Broz Tito, president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and president of the Communist League of Yugoslavia:

"In the name of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party and the Presidential Council of the People's Republic of Hungary, we send our cordial greetings and best wishes to you, the Central Committee and Presidium of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to the peoples of Yugoslavia on the occasion of your National Day.

"We look with sincere appreciation at those significant results which the people of Yugoslavia have achieved in the socialist building work, in the increasing of the financial and intellectual strength of society, under the leadership of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, your personal guidance.

"We state with great satisfaction that the relations between the People's Republic of Hungary and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are developing in the spirit of mutual respect to the advantage of our socialism-building people, peace and security. It is our belief that the further strengthening of the relations between our parties and our governments, the good neighborly and friendly ties of our peoples corresponds to the wishes and real interests of our people.

"On occasion of your National Day we wish you and the peoples of Yugoslavia further successes in the flourishing of your socialist country."

Gyorgy, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, sent a telegram to Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and Antal Apro, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, sent a telegram to Dragoslav Markovic, president of the Federal Assembly.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APPROVES REPORTS, ADOPTS PROGRAM

LD292338 Budapest MTI in English 1722 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)--The Hungarian Council of Ministers met in a session on [word indistinct].

Georgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, informed the government on his official visit to the Republic of France. The report was approved.

Vice-Premier Janos Borbandi reported on the session of the Hungarian-Mongolian Intergovernmental committee for Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation and Vice-Premier Gyula Szerker on that of the Hungarian-Polish Committee for Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation. The government acknowledged the reports approvingly.

Submitted by Vice-Premier Jozsef Marjai, the report on the visit and talks in Hungary of Branislav Ikonc, vice president of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was adopted by the Council of Ministers.

On the basis of the reports by the ministers of finance and labour, the government adopted an operative program to improve manpower management in the administrative, directing and other companies relying on the budget. The program is aimed at increasing the efficiency of labour in these spheres, too, by a more rational division of tasks, reduction of paper-work and above all by better organization. Only the absolutely necessary number of working hands should be employed. A resolution was passed on the limitation of secondary jobs, except for the physical spheres of work where the restriction of secondary employment will be alleviated.

Thereafter, the government turned to discuss other business.

FALL SOWING-WELL-ORGANIZED, NEARING COMPLETION

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Nov 79 pp 1, 4 WA

[Summary] According to Istvan Meszaros, main department head of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, fall field work has been far more systematic and better organized this year than ever before. Students and detachments from the armed forces performed 12 percent of this work. The MEZOGEP [Agricultural Machine Trust] not only organized rapid repair service for machinery but undertook to manufacture small parts which were hard to obtain. As the result of well-organized work, sowing of winter wheat as well as rye and barley has been completed in the designated areas. All wheat will have been sown by the end of the week throughout the country. Soil cultivation is progressing well: Large farms have finished spreading organic fertilizer on 94 percent of the scheduled area. Deep plowing has been retarded by lack of potassium and phosphorous fertilizer. (However, the Soviet Union is delivering and will deliver 30,000 tons within a few days.) As of Thursday, the necessary work had been completed on 60-61 percent of the fields slated for deep plowing. Specialists believe this work will be finished throughout the nation by 10-15 December. So far, 95-96 percent of the corn has been picked. Komarom, Szolnok and Heves counties have finished this work, but Fejer, Bacs, Hajdu-Bihar, Pest, Szabolcs and Borsod counties will be finished by Sunday. Only 86-87 percent of the sugar beet crop has been lifted as compared to last year. This was due to the hardness of the soil. The rate of beet harvesting has accelerated now. The sugar content is good, and the beets are not being harvested until they are fully ripe. Many silos have been built for a corn stalks, beet and oleaginous vegetable mixture.

Harvesting of rice, soya, potatoes has been completed as has the vintage. In the case of greens, only cabbage remains to be picked.

IRANIAN CIVILIANS RECEIVING MILITARY INSTRUCTION

LD300600 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 30 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Soldiers in Tehran are teaching the civilian population to use military (?equipment). This operation was undertaken in response to an appeal from Ayatollah Khomeini, as part of preparations for a possible armed intervention by the United States.

GUIDELINES ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH EGYPT SIGNED

LD292224 Warsaw PAP in English 2106 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Cairo, 29 Nov, PAP--The works of the Polish-Egyptian Mixed Commission for Economic Cooperation ended here today. They resulted in the signing of a document containing the guidelines for trade and cooperation in 1980.

The document provides for the intensification of the trade turnover, especially of Polish exports, and also increased imports from Egypt. For instance, both sides agreed on a rise in the exports of the Polish engineering industry products, together with making a greater use of co-production. This means the development of co-production in the automotive and the machine tools industries. It was stressed that the chances for co-operation embraced the metallurgical industry, the industries of heavy and agricultural machines and building materials and also many other branches of the engineering industry and the maritime economy. It was also decided to increase the share of Polish mining enterprises in the development of mining Egyptian minerals. This concerns especially mines of phosphates and hard coal. Besides, the document reflects the interest of both sides in the supplies of Polish machinery for the production of building materials, including cement, calcium-silicate bricks, and cellular concretes.

The Egyptian side voiced its satisfaction over the way in which Poland so far rendered her agricultural aviation services covering the fighting of pesticides in a considerable part of the Egyptian cotton area. In the future, both sides decided to increase Poland's share in this kind of services. Egypt exports to Poland, first of all, cotton, the cotton fibre, rice and a wide range of consumer durables for the home market.

The talks on the questions of shipping and facilities in the maritime transport, of interest to both countries, will start in January 1980. Both sides expressed their interest in the further expansion of trade and industrial (?exchange). This was stressed by the two co-chairmen of the mixed commission after signing the document: Dr. Hamid as-Sayih, the Egyptian minister of economy, cooperation and foreign trade, and Franciszek Kaim, the Polish minister of metallurgy.

CATHOLIC DAILY CARRIES FRG THEOLOGICIAN'S ATTACK ON POPE

AU260805 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 16-17 Nov 79 p 7 AU

[Ada Szubowa article: "The First Year of the John Paul II Pontificate---Arrogant Theologians' Warnings"; passages in capitals published in boldface]

[Excerpts] THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE HOLY FATHER'S PONTIFICATE HAS BEEN AN OCCASION FOR SOME LIBERAL (AND STILL CATHOLIC?) THEOLOGIANS IN THE WEST, ESPECIALLY IN THE FRG TO HAVE THEIR SAY. [paragraph continues]

FOLLOWING PROF HANS KUENG'S ARTICLE, WHICH HAD GAINED GREAT PUBLICITY IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES INCLUDING POLAND, (IN SLOWO POWSZECHNE THE ARTICLE WAS CRITICALLY ANALYZED BY MARIAN BRZEZINSKI LAST SUNDAY AND IN TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY BY REV ANDRZEJ BARDECKI ON 11 NOVEMBER), ONE HORST HERMANN PUBLISHED IN ISSUE 41 OF DER SPIEGEL HIS ARTICLE ENTITLED: "ROME CAN HEAVE A SIGH OF RELIEF."

Indeed it is difficult to believe that Herrmann is a Catholic priest and instructs in canon law at Muenster University, although he has not been entitled to train theologians for the past 10 years. To say that the way in which Rev Horst Herrmann treats the "Wojtyla case" is disrespectful is an exceptionally mild judgment. Herrmann is most conspicuous by his absolute lack of even common, elementary respect due to someone who, after all, has been recognized as a moral authority. There is not even the slightest trace in Herrmann of that love that the Catholics in Poland and elsewhere have for the head of the church. Herrmann displays such vulgar and militant nonchalance that his arguments are bound to wound any reader from our own cultural orbit.

And that gives rise to this reflection: Is it really an achievement of present-day culture--that is the term used now in the West by the antagonists of John Paul's II doctrinally "tough" statements--to claim "liberation" from even the slightest traces of recognizing the moral and doctrinal authority of St Peter's heir? Is the liberation from the burden of that authority of some Catholic clergy to be a sign of true freedom and an achievement of present-day culture? The answer to those questions is unambiguous for us who have been brought up within the influence of Polish Catholic culture. AND THAT ANSWER NO DOUBT BETOKENS THE BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR CULTURE AND THE ONE REPRESENTED BY THE VIEWS PUBLISHED BY THE HAMBURG DER SPIEGEL.

ALL THE CRUDE AND VULGAR ARGUMENTS ARE AIMED AT PRESENTING JOHN PAUL II AS SOME IMPOSTOR WHO, IT IS TRUE, IS ABLE TO EXERT A TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE ON THE MASSES AND POSSESSES PERSONAL CHARM AND CHARISMA, WHICH HE USES IN A MASTERLY WAY, BUT WHO DRAWS THE MASSES ONLY BECAUSE OF THOSE "SEDUCTIVE" TALENTS. HE NEVER OFFERS ANYTHING TO THE MASSES, HE TELLS THEM NOTHING AND ANSWERS NO QUESTION PUT TO HIM BY THEM. IT IS SIMPLY INCREDIBLE WITH WHAT FEELING OF ARROGANCE THOSE STATEMENTS ARE MADE. THAT IS WHY IT IS NECESSARY TO "KINDLY" WARN "PAN WOJTYLA," WHO IT IS TRUE KNOWS HIS BUSINESS, THAT HIS "SHOWBUSINESS" [IN ENGLISH] WILL FAIL SOONER OR LATER, IF HE DOES NOT AT LAST TELL PEOPLE OF THEIR OWN PROBLEMS AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS AGITATING THEM. "I TRUST," THE AUTHOR OF THE ARTICLE STATES, "THAT WHAT I HAVE SAID DOES NOT OFFEND AGAINST MAJESTY OR THE HEAD OF A STATE, I TRUST THAT THOSE QUESTIONS CAN BE PUT BY THE FAITHFUL OF THE NINTH 'GREAT POPE IN OUR CENTURY.'"

That trust expressed "out of kindness" in order to move the pope to listen to kind advice is followed by this threat:

IF JOHN PAUL II FAILS RADICALLY TO CHANGE THE STYLE OF HIS PONTIFICATE HE WILL PLUNGE HIS INSTITUTION INTO A STATE OF AGONY SOONER THAN HE WOULD HAVE HOPED. THAT IS BECAUSE IT IS NOT ENOUGH MERELY TO STIMULATE CRAVINGS AND EXPECTATIONS AND BECAUSE THOSE WHO PUT QUESTIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMAND ANSWERS."

Herrmann threatens that if young people do not receive such answers they "will sail to other shores" and that the pope will be left only with a "passive minority."

Perhaps one should ignore such views, which so very maliciously and tendentiously distort the nature and meaning of John Paul's II pontificate, but for the fact that such views are not at all a rarity in certain circles of theologians in the West. [paragraph continues]

AFTER ALL, IT IS WITH INCREASING VOCIFEROUSNESS THAT THEY ARE ACCUSING JOHN PAUL II EITHER OF INTELLECTUAL AND DOCTRINAL NOTHINGNESS, WHICH HE TRIES TO CONCEAL UNDER THE VENEER OF SPECIAL EFFECTS, OR OF DOCTRINAL CONSERVATISM AND OBSCURANTISM. That is how those circles have dubbed the holy father's stand on divorce, contraceptives, abortion, priesthood for women, celibacy and homosexuality. According to those circles, agreement or disagreement between the church's or the pope's position and their own position is the only criterion of progressiveness or obscurantism. The concept of the church's doctrine and its unchangeable elements does not exist for them at all and is absolutely disregarded. The stand that respects those indestructible and unchangeable truths of the church's teachings, the decalogue, and the hierarchy of moral values, which are based on the commandment of the love for God and one's neighbor and which, therefore, require the Catholics to absolutely observe certain obligations and not just take advantage of their rights, is thoroughly irrelevant for theologians such as Prof Hans Kueng and Horst Herrman. THEY ARE THEIR OWN JUDGES.

THE ARTICLES THAT ARE WRITTEN IN THE FALSE CONVICTION THAT THEY MAY SUPPOSEDLY UNMASK THE INTELLECTUAL AND DOCTRINAL NOTHINGNESS OF THE PRESENT PONTIFICATE ARE ALL THE MORE REASON FOR US TO GIVE THOUGHT TO ITS RICH CONTENTS. We give thought to the problem about which the holy father has already had his say and to those that are taking place, such as the just completed session of the cardinals' general assembly in Rome, which is such an important contribution to the issue of collegial rule in the church. WE ALSO GIVE THOUGHT TO THE PROBLEMS THAT THE PRESENT PONTIFICATE WILL INTRODUCE INTO THE CHURCH'S LIFE. After all, it is merely a year since John Paul II took his place in Rome, and, to use Horst Herrmann's language, each day of that year has vividly demonstrated that the church is most capable of "solving human problems and that religion is not something obsolete." AFTER ALL, RELIGIOUS FAITH IS THE CRUCIAL PLATFORM OF JOHN PAUL'S II contact with people, to whom he goes with Christ's truths of the gospel.

POLITYKA WARNS AGAINST ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENTS IN POLAND

AU211125 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 10 Nov 79 p 3 AU

[Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski article: "Chief Orientation"]

[Excerpts] The Polish people have now lived for 35 years within the borders marked out by the Bug river in the east and by the Odra and Nysa rivers in the west. Thanks to just those borders and to the new alliances signed since World War II, already a second generation of Poles can live in peace with its neighbors. No sector of our borders is a source of tension and conflicts. This is the great success of the generation that, while World War II was still raging, chose a realistic orientation, one fruitful for the foreign policy of the independent Poland that was to come. That policy's fathers were representatives of the camp of the radical leftwing headed by the Polish Workers Party. The victory of that party--it was not an easy victory--has been responsible for the fact that the Polish people no longer have to waste their energy on protecting themselves against neighbors. Everyone who knows Polish history knows that for many centuries a sense of uncertainty and of external dangers was the necessary part of foreign policy and, moreover, determined the national frame of mind and indirectly or directly influenced domestic development.

Bearing in mind the present and future fates of the Polish state and Poland's place in Europe and the world, we should regularly recall the circumstances under which that orientation was born because the passage of time helps one forget certain facts. We should also bear in mind that the number of Poles for whom those circumstances are something very remote is growing from year to year. [paragraph continues]

Since they, just like all the other previous generations, are hungry for the knowledge of their country's past, their curiosity for the explanations of the reasons for present Poland being as it is and for the present alliances being as they are is enormous. Of course, it would be naive to think that only we--the dedicated champions of the Polish Workers Party's concept of foreign policy--are the ones who communicate with young Poles. We should commiserate with those who think so and with those who believe that the aforementioned curiosity can be satisfied by a more or less ample portion of stereotypes or even slogans. Thanks to the favorable political climate that rules our country, in the present decade the Marxist historians have penetrated many spheres that were excluded from scientific research and instruction as recently as the sixties. The progress in that regard is visible, but is still unsatisfactory. We should enter the eighties with a strong resolution to clear up all the problems of Poland's most recent history that need clearing up for the good of the country and in the name of strengthening Poland's present place in Europe and the world.

In 1939 Poland by itself was incapable of facing up to the coming onslaught and had to search for help. Rejecting every kind of cooperation (let alone alliance!) with the USSR, it turned its attention to the Western powers, the ones removed by hundreds and hundreds of kilometers from our country. That policy met with the support of the majority of the Polish people at that time. Two circumstances played the chief role in that support. The first was the traditional antipathy vis-a-vis Russia that had been nourished by vigorous and militant anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda for almost 20 years--"Poland is the bulwark of Christianity" "cordon sanitaire" and so on--and the second was Poland's traditionally strong ties with the Mediterranean culture. All the now accessible sources prove that Great Britain and France took Poland's side and declared war against the Third Reich on 3 September 1939 not so much because they wanted to help the Polish people as because Adolf Hitler had broken the rules of the game he was jointly playing with the French and British governments at that time. Munich was a classic demonstration of that joint game. It was not Hitler's resolve to strangle the Polish people that struck fear into the hearts of those states' governments but his gargantuan appetite to become the overlord of Europe. The fates of the Polish people were indeed a much lesser concern of our Western allies. For over 100 years Poland was not on the map of Europe, and no one in the West was unduly worried about the fact. Those of our countrymen who represented Polish aspirations to independence were as a rule used by the rulers of that time for their own selfish ends. It is worth recalling those facts because the lessons they supply us with are of topical significance for our people and will remain so for a long time to come.

We must bear that in mind today when we center our attention on all problems connected with Poland's security and with efforts to insure for the country the conditions that make it possible for us to fully concentrate our resolve and energy on the issues of domestic development. Our natural alliance for today, tomorrow and after tomorrow can only be the one with the Soviet Union--with the peoples inhabiting that giant country, especially the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Belorussians with whom we have had direct ties for hundreds and hundreds of years.

This is the truth we have professed ever since the Polish Workers Party's orientation became the dominant feature of our foreign policy. Is it necessary to recall and repeat it? I think so. After all, the world does not stand still. It is true that here in Europe the borders are permanent and stabilized and no European country is experiencing the great upheavals that are the lot of some Third World countries, but this does not mean that stagnation has conquered the world of ideas, notions, concepts and so on. There is no such stagnation in our country. [paragraph continues]

People engage in discussions, read whatever there is to read and take interest in what happens in the world, in the neighboring countries and in the countries far removed from us. Among the subjects they discuss are the Polish-Soviet relations, the German problems, the U.S. policy vis-a-vis various issues and events and, last year, the pontificate of John Paul II. These are the top subjects. Those discussions are often very vigorous, emotional, wise and stupid.

Common stupidity turns around the wretched poses of nationalistic superiority--poses that stem not so much from the inherited theory of the "bulwark of Christianity," from the continuation of Polish "lordliness" and from "Europeism" as from wearing second-hand modern clothes. Rumors of bigger or smaller caliber and various jokes are in circulation. All that is supposed to be without significance and nothing to shout about, but in certain milieus it creates harmful and unwise moods of arrogance. At times such moods upset the climate of the friendly meetings between certain Poles and representatives of neighboring nations who have an awareness of such poses and who may draw false conclusions about the credibility and profundity of the feelings of gratitude and friendship that an overwhelming majority of the Polish community have vis-a-vis the Soviet peoples.

As every other community we, too, have home-bred politicians--people who are flighty, demagogic and simply irresponsible. They make their presence known also by commenting on Polish-Soviet relations, Poland's place in Europe and so on. I am not frightened by that, but the fact astonishes me that there are among us the people who, ignoring our fundamental national interests, try to bring to life the compromised anti-Soviet attitude. This makes me a bit apprehensive. Those are vain and useless attempts, but that does not mean that we can just ignore them. Anyone who out of stupidity or at someone's behest helps to bring to life those attitudes deserves severe moral and political condemnation.

Poland of the seventies is open to the entire world as never before. In the seventies we have greatly committed ourselves to promoting all kinds of cooperation in every geographical direction, including the Western direction. That is certainly an advantageous policy for the country, and no one intends to change it. While continuing on that course and not rejecting an outstretched hand, provided the other one does not hold a cluster of grenades, metaphorically, we are fully aware that our alliance with the Soviet Union--alliance and friendship--is the foundation of foundations of our foreign and domestic policy. Anyone who would like to undermine that line of thought and action should be simply told: not this way!

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISCUSSES 1980 DRAFT PLAN

LD292322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] The government spokesman reports that a session of the Council of Ministers was held today during which the draft resolution on the national socioeconomic plan and budget for the year 1980 was discussed.

The fundamental provisions and proposals for next year's plan, which was discussed a few days ago at a joint meeting of the Politburo of the party Central Committee and the government presidium, were presented by Deputy Premier Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk, chairman of the Planning Committee of the Council of Ministers, and the main elements of the budget by Minister of Finances Henryk Kisiel.

The draft plan for next year, which will soon be submitted to the Sejm together with the draft budget, was prepared with the idea in mind of continuing in the new, changed circumstances the fundamental provisions of the strategy of socioeconomic development as outlined by the sixth and seventh party congresses. The plan, reflecting the ideals contained in the guidelines for the eighth party congress being discussed at present in the pregress discussions, is aimed at the implementation of party and state social policy and balancing the economic processes from this viewpoint.

The concept of the plan is based on a realistic assessment of the present situation and is focused on an active, more efficient counteraction of difficulties. A thorough study in the sphere of efficiency and structural changes of production and management are aimed at achieving a better adaptation of the economy for working in new, more intensive conditions and constitute the main source of counteracting difficulties and increasing the national income.

The proposed solutions included in the draft are aimed at achieving the most important social goals, especially those connected with improvement in supplies for the market, improvement in the implementation of the long-term programs of providing food supplies for the population, housing as well as an increase in social benefits and improvement in the state of the health service.

The main spheres of action provided for by the draft plan are: the strengthening of production potential of power industry and transport, and the development of the base of raw and other materials. The draft plan considers as a priority task the balancing of foreign trade above all through a considerable intensification of exports. The draft plan lays stress on undertakings aimed at improving the structure of production and investments and at adapting the scope of investment outlays to the present material and executive possibilities. A considerable increase in action aimed at effective management in economy, economical use of financial, technical and material resources as well as improvement in the quality of work are the conditions necessary for the implementation of next year's tasks. This is the paramount duty of all sectors of the economy. In the draft plan the government provides the necessary means for the implementation of tasks in science, higher education and upbringing, for the development of culture and artistic creation, publishing, press, radio and television.

The session of the Council of Ministers focused its attention on the most important conditions and problems of next year's work. It was emphasized that the last weeks of the current year must be effectively utilized for the best possible implementation of the 1979 plan, thus creating a favorable basis for rythmical and harmonious implementation of future tasks from the very beginning of next year.

The Council of Ministers approved the draft plan and budget for the year 1980 and decided to submit them to the Sejm.

PARTY AGRICULTURAL, FOOD SECRETARIES ATTEND WARSAW SESSION

AU151115 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 79 p 1 AU

[Text] PAP--Secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees responsible for agriculture and food met in session at the PZPR Central Committee headquarters in Warsaw on 12 November. The main topics of the session, which was chaired by Central Committee Secretary Jozef Pinkowski, were tasks for raising the effectiveness of agricultural management in the light of the eight congress guidelines.

The session was attended by Jerzy Wojtecki, director of the Central Committee Department of Agriculture and Food, and by directors of the ministries and central institutions concerned. Roman Malinowski, member of the Presidium and secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee was also present.

FURTHER SPEECHES BY OFFICIALS TO RCP CONGRESS

Dinca Speech

AU232100 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Nov 79 p 11 AU

[Report on speech by Ion Dinca, minister of industrial construction, at the 20 November proceedings of the 12th RCP Congress in Bucharest]

[Text] The report presented to the congress by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--a document of the greatest principled and practical value and, at the same time, a thorough analysis of the activity carried out by the party and state--is an excellent inventory of the great achievements recorded by our people since the 11th party congress up to now; it also forcefully and clearly presents the program of our future activity, the remarkable prospects of our society in the 1985 5-Year Plan and in the following 10 years.

All of us are rejoicing at these excellent achievements which show the world the image of a Socialist Romania that is developing with a dynamism rarely encountered on the globe and that shows ever increasing growth rates with every passing year. We must state from the very beginning that they are proof of the fact that the workers class and all our people have recognized the correctness of the policy practiced by our party and its leadership and proof that this policy serves the most valuable interests of our nation.

From this high rostrum, it is fitting first and foremost to pay warm homage and express our recognition to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the one who, through his clearheadedness and wisdom, through his courage and consistent revolutionary spirit, his boundless love for the people and trust in their creative ability, the one who through his deep party exactingness and his creative example, his persevering work and untiring struggle, has constantly inspired and mobilized us in fulfilling our plans and his valuable initiatives. As one who has had the pleasure of benefiting directly from the recommendations and his priceless contribution, I would like to declare that it is a great pleasure for our people to be led by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an enlightened and experienced leader in the great work of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, by a leader harboring boundless love for the people and the country.

From the rostrum of this high forum of our party and in fulfilling the mandate given to me by the Prahova party organization, I want to express the full agreement of the builders in our country with the contents of the documents submitted for discussion and approval to this congress; I also want to express their warm gratitude to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, for his personal and decisive contribution to formulating and substantiating these documents and for his essential contribution to the socioeconomic progress of the entire country on the road of socialism and communism. In voicing these thoughts and the boundless love and profound esteem of all working people who are active in the sector of investments-construction, we support with fervor and particular pleasure the reelection by our congress of the most beloved and devoted son of our people, the enthusiastic patriot and untiring struggler for the fatherland's free and independent assertion, the prominent figure of the international life, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as party secretary general.

In the almost 4 years which have passed since the beginning of the current 5-year plan, the excellent detachment of constructors who are called upon to fulfill the huge investment program initiated by the party, has recorded important successes in implementing the plan provisions.

Envisaging an investment volume of 900-960 billion lei, the 5-year plan set forth the most comprehensive investment program known in the history of our people, a volume which actually equals the total volume of investments achieved in the three preceding 5-year plans. We report to the congress that the greatest part of the investment projects envisaged for the current 5-year plan have already been commissioned, while others are in a finishing stage, so that by the end of 1980 a number of 2,800 new and important industrial and agricultural-zootechnical capacities will be put into operation.

I must openly state that in their untiring work of fulfilling this extensive investment program, the speaker continued, the constructors have felt the constant and many-sided help granted by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, who, through his working visits, through analysis at the spot and in working meetings with those active in the investment-construction field, has constantly guided their work, given an impetus to their creative thought and to their efforts aimed at increasing economic efficiency in this important sector.

As a result of the valuable recommendations made by the party secretary general throughout these years, important progress has been recorded in improving work and the production process and in increasing efficiency. Important steps have been taken in the direction of modernizing the concept of achieving, drawing up and locating investment-construction projects; utilizing new and efficient materials; increasing the level of mechanization in work on construction sites; of adopting new, modern and highly productive technologies; the industrialization of work has increased and work sites have increasingly become assembly units. I would like to mention here that following the analysis and the recommendations made by the party secretary general, only by adopting and using more rational construction methods have we recorded savings by reducing the investment costs of the current 5-year plan by more than 100 billion lei, funds which we were able to channel toward a more forceful development of the national economy and toward an additional improvement in the standard of living.

Pana Speech

AU230945 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Nov 79 p 4 AU

[Report on speech by Gheorghe Pana, member of the RCP Political Executive Committee and mayor of Bucharest, at the 20 November session of the 12th RCP Congress in Bucharest]

[Text] The report presented by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--a brilliant synthesis of the intensive activities carried out by our party and people of the revolutionary structural changes that have occurred in the life of the entire society--wonderfully describes the bright future of the fatherland; it is a document of exceptional theoretical and practical importance for all our future activities, a capital and profoundly original contribution to enriching the heritage of scientific socialism, of the strategy and tactics of building the socialist and communist society. The report hails the industrious work of our gifted people who, closely united around the party, are devoting their creative forces and energies to building a new, socialist, free and independent Romania, ever more prosperous and blossoming, esteemed and respected among the world's nations.

In these times of worldwide problems, our nation has the privilege of having at the head of the party and country the forger of socialist and communist Romania: Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. For us, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu represents the ideal embodiment of the most noble virtues of our people.

An eminent revolutionary and ardent patriot, who from his earliest years identified himself with the supreme interests and loftiest ideals of the entire nation, a consistent internationalist endowed with brilliant foresight, and an illustrious militant for peace, justice, freedom and truth, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, through the innovative and constructive spirit he adopts on all current issues of cardinal importance for mankind's future, is one of the prominent personalities of the contemporary world. That is why, expressing the unanimous desire of the over 325,000 communists and of all the inhabitants of the Bucharest municipality, we wholeheartedly, enthusiastically and warmly support Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's reelection to the high position of party secretary general, with the firm conviction that it is an important basic political option for all the working people, regardless of nationality, and reflects their constant desire to maintain at the head of the party and country the man who affords Romania unparalleled dignity and high international prestige.

The exceptional importance of the comprehensive and complex program documents submitted to the congress for debate lies in the fact that they brilliantly trace the road that we will travel in the future in sectors of decisive importance for our social progress: scientific research, energy supply and management, utilization of new raw materials resources, harmonious regional socioeconomic development and continuous increases in the working people's living standard. By fulfilling the provisions included in these documents--established under the personal guidance and with the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--in the coming 5-year plan and up to the year 2000, Romania will make a new and important qualitative leap forward along the path of the socialist and communist society.

The 12th congress finds the Bucharest Municipal Party Organization strong and closely united around the party and its secretary general, capable of mobilizing the communists and all the working people to implement the domestic and foreign policies of our party and state.

All the activities carried out over this period by the Bucharest party bodies and organizations are characterized by a continuous increase in their leading role in the socioeconomic life of the various units, and in their contribution to the implementation of the new economic-financial mechanism, to emphasizing the qualitative aspects of production and consolidating workers' self-management and self-administration. Comprehensive actions were undertaken to better utilize production facilities and manpower, to complete investment projects ahead of schedule, to modernize production technologies and product ranges, to make more efficient use of raw and other materials, fuel and energy and to enhance the efficiency of all economic activities. Simultaneously, they carried out intensive political-organizational and ideological activities aimed at popularizing the party's policy and at raising the level of awareness and sense of responsibility of each working person.

We can report to the high forum that the tasks devolving on us from the 11th congress decisions and the party national conference are being successfully implemented. Over the first years of the 5-year plan we have yielded additional industrial production totaling close to 19 billion lei and by the end of 1980 we plan to exceed the plan provisions by 27 billion lei, which is 2 billion more than the initial commitments. That production supplement was achieved by increasing labor productivity. Close to 46 percent of the products manufactured are new or redesigned and by the end of the 5-year plan they will make up 50 percent of production. Over that period, we put into production new types of heavy machine-tools--5.8 and 16 meter turning and boring lathes, and presses with a strength of 1,000 to 12,000 tons--sophisticated technological installations, automation equipment and so forth. [paragraph continues]

At the same time, almost 90,000 apartments, numerous social-cultural and urban establishments have been built, including the first underground line--which has just been opened experimentally--a very complex and socially useful project, realized on the initiative and under the personal coordination of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The speaker added that important successes were attained in developing the educational system, science, art and culture and in continuously improving the working people's living standard.

On behalf of the communists and all citizens of Bucharest, I want to express to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu warmest and most sincere thanks and all our gratitude for the support and permanent guidance he has given us, which were decisive for the fulfillment of our tasks.

Proceeding from the experience amassed by our party and state in socialist construction, from the results obtained and from the need to further implement the party program, the draft directives and programs mark, by their contents, a new and superior stage of development in Romanian society, the transition to a higher quality in all socioeconomic activities, which will place our country among countries with an average level of development.

In the coming 5-year plan--the speaker continued--the Bucharest municipality has special tasks to fulfill. The aviation and electronics industries and the construction of nuclear-electric centers will develop markedly in Bucharest, while other branches will be modernized. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the recent conference of our party organization, the major direction on which we will have to concentrate is not so much the extensive development of industry as primarily improvements in its technical and qualitative level. That is even more necessary as currently the efficiency with which fixed funds are being utilized falls short of the potential of our installations. We are still manufacturing products which require too much manpower investment, as compared with the developed countries. Labor productivity is still low at many enterprises due to the slow process of mechanization and automation of production processes, of extensive use of industrial robots, of simultaneous work on several machines, and of improving the cadres' professional training.

In view of the above and of the fact that by the end of the coming 5-year plan Bucharest's industrial production is expected to be 39 percent higher, and in 1990 75-80 percent higher than in 1980, the party municipal committee will consistently strive to extensively capitalize on the work of specialists, research and design cadres and of all highly qualified workers to enhance the potential of technical thinking and creation so that in the coming 2-3 years he will be in a position to extensively introduce--on the basis of rigorously substantiated programs and in all enterprises--the most modern methods of scientific organization and leadership of production and to promote highly efficient technologies. Because possibilities for increasing the number of working personnel in Bucharest's enterprises are small, we will concentrate on increasing labor productivity, adopting and expanding automation and automated production control in various sections and even whole enterprises, beginning with work places which require greater physical effort such as foundries, furnaces, thermal treatment and processing sections.

The municipal party organization will center its efforts on enhancing economic efficiency. Since the capital has a large research and design potential, we will strive to gear it to reducing the consumption of raw and other materials, fuel and energy, recovering a greater amount of secondary raw materials and all energy resources and modernizing technologies and products.

The speaker stated that owing to measures adopted to date, solutions have been found for achieving a supplementary industrial production totaling over 10 billion lei, a net production of 3 billion lei, and exports in excess of the actual 1981-85 provisions.

In the future we will concentrate our efforts on raising the political-ideological level of the communists and of all the working people, on developing their revolutionary consciousness, and on molding lofty communist convictions which should reflect in a progressive attitude toward work, a spirit of devotion, passion and selflessness in the implementation of the party policy and strict observance of the norms of socialist ethics and equity.

In the 1981-85 5-Year Plan special attention will be given to developing the housing sector; 200,000 apartments will be built; new urban developments and roads will be completed, especially in the area of the new political-administrative center so that, as the party secretary general requested, the capital can become a modern socialist city, worthy of the era of the comprehensively developed socialist society and a source of pride for all our people.

Our party-state foreign policy, extensively dealt with in the report to the congress, prompted in a spirit of great responsibility for the destinies of the Romanian people and of all mankind--the speaker continued--has our full support, since it is fully in keeping with the principles and guidelines of the 11th party congress, with the interests of the socialist construction in our country, and with the profound changes and processes taking place in the contemporary world.

Alongside all the people, the working people of Bucharest highly value the prodigious, ardently patriotic activities of the party secretary general, the results of his visits, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, to a large number of states, of the summit meetings and talks with state and party leaders and the RCP's extensive relations with communist and workers parties, with socialist and social-democratic parties, democratic, progressive and national liberation movement, which constitute a valuable Romanian contribution to the struggle to assert new interstate relations, and a new international economic and political order for the cause of socialism, peace and progress in the world.

In concluding, the speaker said: Fulfilling the mandate entrusted to us by the conference of the party municipal conference and expressing the determination of the communists and all working people of Bucharest, we assure the congress and you personally, greatly esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that working in the spirit of your requests, we will make every effort to honorably fulfill our tasks and the 12th congress decisions, thus increasing Bucharest's contribution to accelerating the fatherland's socioeconomic development, to increasing the working people's well-being and to the triumph of socialism and communism in our country.

Dascalescu on Organizational Matters

AU271151 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Nov 79 p 4 AU

[Report on speech by Constantin Dascalescu, Political Executive Committee member, at the 21 November proceedings of the 12th RCP Congress in Bucharest]

[Text] History makes us witness to and participate in an event of decisive significance for Socialist Romania's future development. The communists, the working people in our fatherland have invested us with the great responsibility of approving the documents which clearly outline the Romanian society at the end of this century. Therefore, I want to stress the certainty these programs inspire on our multilateral progress whose uniform, predicting and mobilizing nature follows from the deeply scientific quality of our party's policy.

We, who are present here, all our nation, have further excellent proof of the consistency with which our party is implementing the strategic and tactical program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, a telling expression of the communists' revolutionary capability to turn words into deeds.

This proof is given to us by the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, at the congress. The report and the documents submitted to this great forum of the communists for discussion and approval conveys to the minds and hearts of all working people a fervent message of unity, a message mobilizing the nation's creative energy, so as to give our country the rank it merits, placing it among the developed countries of today's world.

And if the work and life program for the next 5-year plan and for the next decades achieves a happy consensus between the people's aspirations and the objective requirements of the socialist and communist development of our society, this is primarily due to the exceptional qualities of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's political personality and his decisive contribution to setting the course of Romania's constant progress.

The speaker then said: Of great importance during difficult times for our people and in our society's day to day life, in formulating the programs on the country's socialist development and in resolving the problems raised by our progress toward communism was our leader's capability to grasp the meaning of contemporary phenomena and the complexity of social processes and to direct the nation's steps toward optimal solutions which will insure its success in the historical mission in which it is engaged: the construction of the communist society on Romanian soil.

Comrades, it is really a reason for pride to be member of such a party, which in a troubled era of serious crisis and deep contradictions, has been able to set determined guidelines for economic, scientific and technical progress, for insuring energy sources and for improving the well-being and level of civilization of all our people. As one of the activists who has the special honor of working with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I deem it my duty to assert at the supreme forum of the party in what an exemplary, impressive and mobilizing way the exacting and highly political lesson is taught by the party secretary general day by day. It is a communist lesson of unshakable consistency, of party responsibility, clear-sightedness and revolutionary courage in dealing with problems of every day life and of our society's victorious advance toward communism.

An integral part of the people, the bearer of their most pure and just feelings of progress, civilization and freedom and a bold defender of the party's political and moral integrity, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has become for all of us the symbol of our unshakable cohesion.

Indeed, Comrades, never has our communist party known such strong unity, never throughout its troubled history has it been so closely united with its leadership, never has there been such a thorough osmosis between the party and people as in the past 15 years since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has been the party and state leader. Therefore, by joining the entire nation, I wholeheartedly support Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's reelection to the supreme position of RCP secretary general. All working people, irrespective of nationality, are convinced that the reelection of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as party head will guarantee the implementation, to the letter, of his deep-rooted revolutionary thought, rich in reality, patriotism and the boundless devotion with which he serves the cause of socialism and the people.

On the basis of the concept of deep political and scientific rigour formulated several years ago by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the 5 years since the 11th congress, our Communist Party has asserted its leading role more forcefully and at a higher level than ever in all spheres of socialist construction.

The great revolutionary changes in Romanian society are indissolubly linked to the fact that, with deep roots in the fatherland's soil, our party has demonstrated in social practice that it is able to apply the general truths of scientific socialism to the concrete and specific conditions in Romania and to foresee and scientifically resolve new problems that emerge in the complex process of historical creation. The really epoch-making successes achieved by the Romanian people in building the new life--a high growth rate in the national economy, the unprecedented flourishing of science, culture and education, the improvement of social relations and the expansion of socialist democracy, the forceful and free assertion of the human personality--forcefully demonstrate, on the basis of facts, the party's exceptional leadership in social process.

In the process of socialist construction, our party has demonstrated that its leading role cannot be played in an abstract manner, but by dynamic and creative action aimed at uniting the energy of all people and decisively channeling it in the direction of building the socialist society.

A conclusive expression of the great attraction our party has for the people is the strengthening and expansion of the party ranks year after year with the most competent representatives of the workers class, the peasantry and intelligentsia. After the ninth party congress almost one and a half million working people, numerous young people and an important number of women became party members; in the struggle to implement the party's policy, they proved such political, professional and moral qualities as entitled them to be called communists.

In his extensive report to the congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu defined organizational work as being of decisive importance in enhancing the party's leading role. Proceeding from this, those active in the organizational field have increasing responsibility for insuring the resolute implementation of the party program and line, and the fulfillment of tasks in the economy, in culture and the entire social life. It is known that the interval between the 11th and 12th congress--due to the exceptionally valuable guidelines and recommendations made by the party secretary general--has increased the contribution made by the organizational activity to implementing the party and state decisions. The organizational activity is more and more forcefully present in resolving the great problems in the field of material production--the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan, improving economic efficiency and increasing self-mangement and self-administration.

Despite all progress recorded, the speaker continued, I must state openly that compared with current requirements we cannot be completely satisfied with the contribution made by the organizational activity to fulfilling the party's general tasks. The criticism directed against the party organizations and bodies in the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, according to which "not always and not everywhere are all aspects of the activity grasped and solved in time, are the forces of production distributed correctly, a constant and exacting control exercised or appropriate guidance and help insured," is closely linked with the shortcomings that are still obvious in our activity, in the activity of those of us who are active in the organizational field, who, by sometimes viewing the organizational activity as an activity per se, do not link it enough with the production process and social life.

A conclusion that clearly follows from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report is the need to pay greater attention to resolving problems on the spot, in practice, to the activity of implementing the decisions adopted, to the state's laws, since we know and as the party secretary general stated: "However good the decisions, they are mere documents" if they are not followed by an intensive organizational activity.

In this context, it is necessary to increase the role of all party organizations still more in organizing and controlling the implementation of the party and state decisions. We must admit that there are still many things to be done to insure a constant, exacting and competent control everywhere, to resolutely halt the tendency to replace it with a superficial and, in the final analysis, a formal inspection and to limit it to putting on paper all sorts of statistics and reports. That is why sometimes control turns from being an instrument of struggling against red-tape into being the expression of it.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report and the other 12th RCP Congress documents set new and particularly important targets for all our people, all working people. It is understandable that under such conditions, many extremely complex tasks are incumbent upon the organizational activity; we have to respond to these tasks at a qualitatively higher level. We have to place stress on the essential aspects of our work, on those aspects that play a decisive role in insuring its proper operation, taking into consideration the stress placed on this in the report presented by our party secretary general, according to which "the organization of the activity for the implementation of the decisions, competent guidance and on-the-spot control, and an adequate distribution of the forces of production are decisive factors on which the implementation of the adopted programs and measures depends."

The historic achievements recorded in the years of socialist construction are closely linked with the attention that was paid following the ninth party congress to promoting broad norms of internal party democracy, to deepening workers self-management, expanding and accentuating the entire socialist democracy. Stressing the most recent example, I want to point out that at the party meetings and conferences which preceded our congress the floor was taken by more than 550,000 communists who made almost 400,000 proposals designed to eliminate shortcomings and improve the economic, political and organization activity.

Consistently concerned with expanding the party internal democracy, with adjusting it to the new requirements of the party development, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has initiated the introduction of unique criteria for setting up the party bodies by beginning with the bureaus of the party organizations and ending with the Central Committee. Approved by the RCP Central Committee plenum of July this year, these criteria have insured the creation of all party bureaus and committees in a more proportional and equitable manner and, consequently, a more democratic representation of the communists.

I cannot help referring in my speech, even very shortly, to the extensive and very fruitful activity carried out by the party and its leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at a foreign policy level. The report we have heard is a warm and humane appeal for the triumph in international life of a policy of peace, understanding and cooperation, for establishing relations based on respect for the states' national independence and sovereignty, on equity and social justice and for a better and more just world.

The report has shown us the rich results of principled comradely relations of mutual assistance with all communist and workers parties, with all the socialist countries for which our party struggles, as well as of the political belief by virtue of which we struggle to develop cooperation with all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces, and to achieve a new type of unity in the international communist movement.

The speaker said in conclusion: I want to stress that we will do all we can, we will make tenfold efforts, as the party secretary has requested, to fulfill the highly responsible tasks incumbent upon us in the organizational field in the best possible manner and to implement the congress decisions so that our country may conquer new and excellent victories in its constant progress toward the highest peaks of socialism and communism.

Coman Speech

AU270955 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Nov 79 p 5 AU

[Report on speech by Ion Coman, Political Executive Committee member and minister of national defense, at 21 November proceedings of the 12th RCP congress in Bucharest]

[Text] United in thought and feelings with the entire nation, all those who wear the uniform of the Romanian Army consider it a duty of honor to extend their warm greetings to the 12th RCP Congress, which they view as a political event of major importance that is opening up new prospects for progress for old and always young Romania.

The soldiers of our revolutionary army, from soldier up to general, together with the country, enthusiastically express their unanimous desire that the supreme forum of the Romanian communists reelect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the kind-hearted communist to the high position of party secretary general, the man whose name stands for the most fruitful period in our national history opened up by the ninth congress, the man who is an excellent representative of our people's ideals for progress, freedom, independence and peace, the militant of international fame who is struggling for a better and more just world. It is the general conviction that this reelection will guarantee the achievement of the great targets of Romania's future envisaged in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's extensive report and in the other documents-directives submitted to the congress for discussion which I completely endorse.

The assessments made by the party secretary general in his report on the growth rates of the Socialist Republic of Romania during the years since the last congress, the speaker continued, also have an influence in the field of national defense. The forceful development of the country's economic and scientific-technical potential, the improvement of the relations of production and of social relations, of society's leadership and the deepening of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the people's unity with the party have influenced Romania's Armed Forces, which have improved their material, cultural and moral standard, especially following the application of the military doctrine formulated by our supreme commander; they have strengthened our national defense system.

The speaker then said: I want to report to the congress that, as a result of the constant concern by the party and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the army has a rational supply of combat equipment, it has a modern material-technical base for the educational-instruction process and increasingly better work and living conditions for the soldiers; all soldiers have made sustained efforts to fulfill their basic mission--combat preparedness and political training--which resulted in an appropriate training of the successive drafts, and a better tactical and strategic training of the comrades; it increased the decision-making and organizational competence of commands, insuring the constant operational ability of units large and small. The efforts referred to also include the fulfillment of the tasks incumbent upon us as regards the equipping and training of Patriotic Guards and the other mass combat units. At the same time, the tasks entrusted to the army in the economy, on industrial construction sites, at the Danube-Black Sea Canal, in hydroamelioration [hidroameliorare] schemes and in agricultural campaigns have been fulfilled and the military has thus demonstrated that it is a dignified defender and hardworking builder of the socialist system on its forefathers' soil, as it was requested by our supreme commander, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu

All this was closely linked with fulfilling the duty given to the army: to be a school for the political, patriotic, revolutionary and civic education of the young generation, and to give new scope to its social integration, thus contributing to shaping a new man, the impressive model of whom is envisaged by the party program and the code of communist ethics. Present in the activity carried out by the state power bodies, by various civic organizations, in the political-ideological activity, in society's cultural and scientific life, the military asserts itself as a responsible participant in the whole of society's life.

Proud of everything that has been achieved and that will be achieved for the fatherland's present and future and for its defense, soldiers of all ranks have entrusted me with the mandate of reasserting in the party's supreme forum their boundless devotion and the deep feelings of love and gratitude they harbor for the nation and its vital nucleus--the RCP--for the leader of Romania's destiny and the supreme commander of the armed forces, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The diversity and depth of the scientific-technical revolution in the army's combat equipment and procedures, and the requirements of our military doctrine--according to which, in the event of a defensive war, the aggressor's quantitative superiority can be counteracted only by qualitative factors--means that the imperative that governs our congress proceedings, that is, achieving a new and better quality on the basis of quantitative accumulations, is of great importance for the army as well.

Proceeding from the tasks set forth by the congress, from the exacting evaluation of the positive aspects and the shortcomings in our activity so far, the speaker continued to stress, we will continue to improve the process of educating and training our troops, the process of cadre training and improvement. We will also brush up our work style and method and strengthen military order and discipline.

Developing cooperation with cadres from the scientific-technical field outside the army, a cooperation for the fruitfulness of which we have only words of gratitude, we will intensify research work in the technical, strategic and tactical fields and in the social sciences field; we will pay greater attention to applying the principles of the science of management in all departments of the military organization. The army will continue to honor its tasks in the economy in the coming 5-year plan as well and, on the basis of better organization and improved labor productivity, it will make a better contribution than in the current 5-year plan.

The struggle for a new quality will take place on the basis of cultivating a more profound party spirit and by stimulating criticism and self-criticism, a combative attitude toward any kind of shortcoming and drawback, and the spirit of determination in fulfilling tasks and orders. The guarantee of success in the struggle for quality rests, first and foremost, in the ability of the party organizations to mobilize and influence in their increased role as political leaders in the lives of units and commands and in the resolute implementation by all soldiers of the RCP's political line.

The speaker then referred to essential aspects of the foreign policy practiced by the Socialist Republic of Romania, whose architect is Nicolae Ceausescu. He stressed: This policy is devoted completely to peace, understanding and cooperation among nations, to eliminating the use or threat of force in interstate relations, to the dismantling of military blocs, to general, and primarily nuclear disarmament, to respect for the equality, independence and sovereignty of all states and to establishing a new economic order in the world and new relations in the international arena. [paragraph continues]

It is in the light of this policy that we understand the military obligations assumed in bilateral or multilateral international treaties, such as the Warsaw Pact; it is in this spirit that our army is developing friendship with the armies of all the socialist countries, that it maintains relations with the armies of other friendly states in the interest of mutual understanding and of detente and peace. This is further proof of the fact that the goal of the Romanian military policy is peaceful par excellence; it is a policy of defending the people's revolutionary achievements, the fatherland's independence and sovereignty, principles which make up the cornerstone of our national and international life.

In conclusion, please allow me to assure that the army, which derives its strength from the RCP leadership, is closely linked with the people and forges its virtues in the flames of the glorious traditions of our bimillenary history, will do all it can to implement the decisions of the 12th congress and will be ready at all times to respond with devotion, dignity and revolutionary determination to the fatherland's orders and to the orders of our supreme commander, under the sacred motto of its combat standards: "For our Fatherland, the Socialist Republic of Romania."

RESOLUTIONS ENDORSED BY RCP CONGRESS

Economic, Social Development Guidelines

LD242022 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 24 Nov 79 LD

["Resolution of the Twelfth Congress of the RCP on endorsing the directives regarding Romania's economic and social development in the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan period and the guidelines until 1990"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/11/1979--The Twelfth Congress of the RCP approves the directives on Romania's economic and social development in the 1981-1986 Five-Year Plan period and the guidelines until 1990 to the elaboration of which Nicolae Ceausescu, the general secretary of the party, made a decisive contribution.

The congress considers, the resolution reads, that all material and human conditions are at hand for securing the successful translation into life of the objectives and orientations stipulated by the directives, for the harmonious and unitary progress of the productive forces, of all domains of the economic and social life, for the successful fulfillment of the tasks of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advancement to communism.

The congress entrusts the Central Committee of the party the task to complete the directives, with taking into account of the proposals and suggestions made during the debates, to secure the elaboration of the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan, and to bringing to a final form, to take all political and organizational measures for the translation into life of these magnificent objectives.

Scientific Program

AU242000 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 24 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/11/1979--The Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party endorses the programme of scientific research, technological development and application of the technical progresses in the 1981-1990 period and the guidelines until 2000.

This programme, the resolution considers, fully corresponds to the party policy, to the outlook of its general secretary on firmly grounding the whole work of socialist construction on the latest achievements of science and technology, a decisive factor of Romania's continuous economic and social progress.

The congress considers that the provisions and orientations of the programme of research and technological development open unlimited possibilities for assertion of the creative forces of the nation, for the capitalization of the material and human resources of the country in view of steadily promoting the technological and scientific progress in the whole economic and social activity, the multilateral development of the country, the strengthening of her national independence and sovereignty. The congress commissions the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to make adequate improvements and to bring the programme of research and technological development to final form on the basis of the proposals and observations made during the debates, to take the most adequate political and organizational measures for the implementation of the approved objectives.

Energy Program

AU242001 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 24 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/11/1979--The twelfth congress endorses the energy research and development programme for 1981-1990 and the principal guidelines until the year 2000, worked out at the initiative and with the decisive contribution of the party's General Secretary Ceausescu.

The congress, the resolution reads, considers that the achievement of the targets included in this document, which establishes the guidelines of the energy policy of the party will secure the energy sources needed for the country's speeded up socio-economic progress, providing the necessary conditions for Romania to become self-sufficient in point of fuel and energy in the next decade. The congress commissions the Central Committee of the party to bring this programme to final form considering the proposals, suggestions and observations made during the debates.

New Party Program

AU242002 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1858 GMT 24 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/11/1979--Endorsing the proposal advanced by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the party, the twelfth congress commissions the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to elaborate a new party programme until the thirteenth congress, a greatly important document meant to further secure clear, scientifically substantiated prospects for the country's socio-economic development.

Setting out from the fact that the targets of building the multilaterally developed socialist society would have been generally fulfilled in the next decade, the new programme, the resolution shows, will have to set the ways and directions for its consolidation, for the gradual transition to the implementation of the communist principles of work and life in our country.

The congress sets the Central Committee the task to take account on conceiving and making final the objectives of the new programme of the experience and conclusions to be drawn from the carrying through of the directives for the economic and social development of Romania in the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan and the guidelines, of all decisions adopted, broadly consulting and involving the working people, active participants in the translation into life of the home and foreign policy of our party and state.

Regional Development

AU242003 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 24 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/11/1979--The Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party endorses the programme of Romania's economic and social development by territorial units in the 1981-1985 period.

The congress highly appreciates the decisive role and contribution the General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu made to the elaboration of this programme, to this consistent activity for the equilibrated distribution of the productive forces in the whole territory, for the superior capitalization of the material and human resources existing in each zone of the country.

The congress commissions the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to analyze the proposals and suggestions made by working people during the debates and to consider them when bringing this programme to a final phase, taking at the same time the political and organizational measures necessary for its translation into life, for the steady continuation of the policy of developing and updating the economy of all counties.

Living Standard

AU242004 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 24 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/11/1979--The 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party endorsed the draft programme of raising the living standard for 1981-1985 and continually improving the quality of life.

The congress highly assesses the continuous concern of the party, of Nicolae Ceausescu, its general secretary, in securing the material and spiritual welfare of the people, in fully developing the human personality--the supreme goal of the whole policy of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and passing to communism.

The congress commissions the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to analyse the suggestions and observations made during the debates, and setting out from them to give the finishing touches to the draft programme of raising the living standard for 1981-1985 and continually improving the quality of life.

CPSU'S PELSHE LAYS WREATHS IN BUCHAREST

AU211037 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Nov 79 p 5 AU

[Text] The CPSU delegation led by Comrade Arvid Yanovich Pelshe, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, who came to our country to attend the proceedings of the 12th RCP Congress, on Sunday morning laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin monument; the monument of heroes of the struggle for the people's and fatherland's freedom and for socialism; the monument of Soviet heroes, and the monument of fatherland's heroes.

He was accompanied by Comrades Vasile Vilcu, chairman of the RCP Central Auditing Commission; Traian Dudas, member of the RCP Central Committee; Gheorghe Badrus, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee and Romania's ambassador to the USSR; Dumitru Turcus, deputy section chief at the RCP Central Committee, and Gheorghe Preda, deputy chairman of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council.

Also present was V.I. Drozdenko, USSR ambassador to Bucharest, and members of the embassy staff.

FRIENDSHIP MEETINGS HELD WITH FOREIGN CONGRESS DELEGATIONS

Pelshe Address in Ploiesti

For the text of the speech by A. Ya. Pelshe, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Party Control Committee Chairman, at a Romanian-Soviet friendship rally at the 1 May petroleum equipment plant in Ploiesti, as published in PRAVDA 22 November, see the Eastern Europe section of the 30 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Hungary's Apro in Bucharest

LD221452 Budapest MTI in English 1025 GMT 22 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)--MTI's correspondent in Bucharest reports:

The Hungarian party-delegation, led by Antal Apro, member of the HSWP Political Committee, which is participating at the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, visited a factory on Wednesday afternoon in Bucharest, then attended a friendship meeting. The guests were accompanied by Gheorghe Gaston Marin, member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

The Hungarian delegation visited the "Volcano" factory in the new industrial zone of the capital, which makes various machine industry installations. After viewing the three large-work-halls of the factory, the delegation attended a friendship meeting.

At friendship meeting, Antal Apro forwarded the greetings and best wishes of the Hungarian communists and the Hungarian people engaged in building socialism. He spoke with appreciation of Romania's development, mentioned the situation of the two countries' relations and in connection with this he emphasized: The meeting between Janos Kadar and Nicolae Ceausescu in Debrecen and Oradea in 1977 was an outstanding stage of the development of relations.

Antal Apro stated: "One of the pillars of our friendship is that the workers of the two countries visit each other's countries and can mutually get to know the results of building socialism, the endeavours of one another, their cultural relics.

We consider it important to promote the personal connection of the workers of our countries and to cultivate the ties of the citizens of the two countries, to establish the favourable conditions for this. It is our belief that the further widening of our relations is in the interest of the peoples of both countries. It is because of this that our party and our government endeavours to deepen the good neighbourliness, to further develop the political, economic, cultural and other relations."

Antal Apro then spoke about the preparations for the 12th Congress of the HSWP. He mentioned that besides the better exploitation of our domestic possibilities, the development of our economic ties existing with the socialist countries and the better utilization of the possibilities within the CEMA integration are great resources.

Speaking of international questions, the member of the HSWP Political Committee stated: The extreme imperialist circles are trying everything to increase the armaments race and are continuing their propaganda campaign for the poisoning of the international atmosphere.

Antal Apro then went on to state:

"We highly value and completely assist the proposals of Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made public in Berlin. After the Soviet initiative it is now the NATO countries' turn to give answers in merit, to take a stand in a positive way."

Antal Apro mentioned that the Hungarian people are in solidarity with all the forces struggling for national independence, for social progress and freedom against the attacks of the imperialist circles, then concluded:

"In the interest of achieving our joint aims and to fruitfully solve our international tasks, our party and government will continue to strive for good cooperation based on the principles of proletarian internationalism both in Hungarian-Romanian bilateral relations and in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, as well as in our activities within the CEMA."

PRC Delegation at Factory

AU231951 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1130 GMT 23 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/11/1979--The delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, led by Ulanhu, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, attending the proceedings of the Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, visited on November 22 the enterprise of machine-tools and aggregates (I.M.U.A.) of Bucharest.

The members of the delegation were accompanied by Ion Avram, member of the C.C. of the R.C.P., minister of machine-building industry. Present was also Florea Dumitrescu, member of the C.C. of the R.C.P., Romania's ambassador in Beijing. The visit included some of the main productive sections of the enterprise. The Romanian-Chinese friendship meeting was held in one of the big workshops of the enterprise.

Ion Dragu, secretary of the enterprise's party committee took the floor referring to the development stages of the enterprise. He showed among other things that the enterprise exports between 20 and 40 percent of its production to 25 countries, delivering to the People's Republic of China over 250 machine-tools. This is only one example of the relations of friendship and fruitful collaboration on multiple planes between Romania and China, to the deepening and strengthening of which the interviews and talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Hua Guofeng have made a decisive contribution.

The fact that your delegation, dear friends, attends the congress of our party, the speaker went on, is another proof of the good relations between the R.C.P. and the C.P.C., another contribution to the deepening and expansion of these relations on multiple planes, for the benefit of our peoples, in the interests of the general cause of socialism and peace world wide.

He also showed that the whole collectivity of the enterprise follows with deep satisfaction and joy the successes of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the complex work of building the new society, in economic and social development, in the rise of the material and spiritual living standards of the working people.

Addressing the meeting, the head of the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party Ulanhu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, said:

Attending the Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party we witnessed touching aspects when all delegates to the congress expressed their full adhesion to the policy and line of your party, the unanimous determination to re-elect Nicolae Ceausescu to the office of general secretary of the party. We are firmly convinced that, by the efforts made by the whole party, by the whole Romanian people, the grand objectives set by the Twelfth Congress of the R.C.P. will be successfully implemented.

Then the speaker referred to the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples underlining that the reciprocal visits paid last year by the leaders of the two countries, Hua Guofeng and Nicolae Ceausescu, raised these relations onto a higher level. They very presence of the Chinese delegation attending the Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party is an expression of the unflinching friendship between our parties and peoples, of the firm determination to further develop and deepen the relations of collaboration on multiple planes in the interests of both countries and people.

Vietnamese Meeting

AU221624 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1210 GMT 22 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/11/1979--On November 21, the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam attending the proceedings of the Twelfth Congress of the RCP took part in the meeting organized at "Tricodava" enterprise of Bucharest.

Le Quang Dao, secretary of the CC of the CP Vietnam, head of the delegation together with Tran Thuan, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Bucharest were accompanied by Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

After addressing a welcome to the guests, Mariana Doina Firulescu, manager of the enterprise, referred to the achievements scored by the working people of this big economic unit.

She pointed to the good relations established between Romania the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, significantly mirrored by the continuous development of the collaboration in in the political, economic, technico-scientific and cultural fields.

In conclusion the speaker considered that the fact that the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam attend the proceedings of the Twelfth Congress of the RCP is another proof of the good relations established between the RCP and the CP of Vietnam, another contribution to the deepening and expansion of these relations on multiple planes.

Then, Le Quang Dao, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Vietnam took the floor highlighting the achievements of the Romanian people on the front of the building of socialism, and underlined that Romania became today a country with a modern industry, a highly productive agriculture having a high level of mechanization, with advanced culture, science and technology. He stressed then the importance of the report presented by Nicolae Ceausescu to the Twelfth Congress of the RCP.

In conclusions, the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam stressed the close friendship and collaboration between the Vietnamese and Romanian peoples, the material and spiritual support granted by Romania to the heroic Vietnam. On the occasion, he addressed thanks to the party and government, to the whole Romanian people for their fraternal support, highlighting at the same time the deep-going significance of the interviews and talks between the leaders of the two countries and parties, Le Duan and Nicolae Ceausescu, which contributed to the strengthening of the militant solidarity and friendship between both parties, countries and peoples, to the deepening and diversification of the relations on multiple planes, in the mutual interests, in the interest of socialism, progress and peace worldwide.

DPRK Meeting

AU231930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1200 GMT 23 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/11/1979--The delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea attending the Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party which includes Pak Song-chol, member of the Political Committee of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, vice-premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, head of the delegation, Li Hoa Sang, alternate member of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea and Sin In-ha, ambassador of the DPR of Korea in Bucharest took part in a Romanian-Korean friendship meeting at the Cimpina Oil and Gas Research and Design Institute. The guests were accompanied by Nicolai Agachi, member of the CC of the RCP, and Dumitru Ionas, secretary of the Prahova County RCP Committee.

Telling the guests about the current concerns of the researchers, Ion Pantazie, the secretary of the party committee of the institute said: We are pleased to learn of the remarkable achievements of the working people of the DPR of Korea in their homeland's economic and social development. At the same time, we are pleased to reiterate the determination of the Romanian people of the RCP to firmly support the righteous cause of the Korean people's peaceful reunification, of building an independent and sovereign homeland. This is another telling proof of the Romanian people's constant concern to strengthen the traditional friendship between the two peoples.

Emphasizing the Romanian people's achievements in building the multilaterally developed socialist society, Pak Song-chol showed that Romania is a country boasting a modern industry, a flourishing agriculture, an advanced culture, science and technology. The Korean guest underscored the steady action taken by the Workers' Party of Korea for the peaceful reunification of its homeland, stressing that this just cause enjoys the steady support of the Romanian and other peoples. Next, he referred to the friendship and cooperation relations between the DPR of Korea and Romania underlining that their ascending course in recent years had decisively been influenced by the meetings and talks between Kim Il-song and Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mongolian Meeting

AU231947 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1150 GMT 23 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/11/1979--The delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party attending the Twelfth RCP Congress and including Paavangyin Damdyn, secretary of the CCP of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and head of the delegation; Teveengombyn Davaasuren, head of Department of the CC of the MPRP; and Tagaalamyn Dugersuren, ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic in Bucharest took part on Thursday, November 22 in a Romanian-Mongolian friendship meeting held at the Pipera wood-working combine in Bucharest.

The delegation was accompanied by Gheorghe Lazar, alternate member of the CC of the RCP, deputy minister of forestry and building materials.

Maria Elena Lazar, secretary of the party committee of the combine, highlighted in her speech the successes of the working people in the combine as well as the cooperation between the combine and many countries of the world, including the Mongolian People's Republic.

She referred to the traditional relations of friendship established between the two parties, countries, and peoples. Your delegation's participation in the RCP congress is another proof of the good relations between the RCP and the MPRP, a fresh contribution to their deepening and expansion on multiple planes.

Addressing the meeting, Paavangyin Damdyn showed that the products of the combine enjoy appreciation on the Mongolian market as well.

The congress documents, he said, emphasize the big achievement of the Romanian people in social-economic development and in the improvement of the living standards of the working people.

Expressing special satisfaction at the evolution of the Romanian-Mongolian friendship and collaboration relations, the guest mentioned Romania's participation in building socio-cultural and industrial objectives in the Mongolian People's Republic.

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE FOR PEOPLE'S COUNCILS REPLACED

AU271712 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0918 GMT 27 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/11/1979--Under presidential decree, Iosif Uglar was released from the Office of Chairman of the Committee for People's Councils Affairs and is to be appointed to another office.

Ludovik Fazekas, minister of forestry and building materials was appointed chairman of the Committee for People's Councils Affairs.

FURTHER REPORTAGE, COMMENTARY ON U.S.-IRAN CRISIS

Carter Press Conference

ID291212 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1132 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Washington, Nov 29 (TANJUG)--U.S. President Jimmy Carter restated here last night that his government would further and resolutely use all peaceful ways so as to have its diplomats kept as hostages in Tehran since November 4 set free and would not give in under any blackmails whatsoever in order to reach that goal. He accused the Government of Iran of inhuman acts, he said, towards the U.S. citizens and emphasized that taking hostages from among the diplomats runs contrary to all international, national and religious laws and regulations, and that the Iranian Government's act is without precedent in history.

In his speech to the American nation, Carter warned several times the Tehran government of the seriousness of the situation it created by taking hostages as well as of serious consequences that can emerge from it for Iran should anything bad happen to the U.S. diplomats.

The U.S. would sincerely like to see a peaceful solution found, Carter stressed, adding that he would not like to comment at this moment, so as not to deteriorate an already difficult situation, on the statements about other actions the U.S. Government can undertake, if Iran does not free the hostages.

The U.S. president said that bringing the one-time Iranian shah to the international court would be against international laws.

Carter Hints at Intervention

ID292325 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] The most prominent political personalities of the United States have expressed their support for the policy outlined by President Carter in his message to the nation in which he demanded the immediate release of the U.S. diplomats being held in Tehran. Official Washington continues to demand that the Security Council session scheduled for Saturday be held regardless of whether the Iranian minister of foreign affairs attends or not. TANJUG correspondent Slobodan Obradovic reports on what President Carter told newsmen in Washington about U.S.-Iranian relations:

Speaking from the White House late last night U.S. President Carter addressed the nation--and also the new revolutionary authorities in Tehran. One question was asked several times, but no reply was given to it, that is, whether or not the United States will take any military action if all attempts to free the detained diplomats peacefully fail to yield results. The U.S. president's resolute answer was: No, we are continuing to strive to find a solution in a peaceful manner. However, the impression was left that Carter is already beginning to allow the possibility--in case of a further development in the crisis that would threaten the lives of the hostages and the vital interests of the United States--of other action also being taken, which means putting the military machinery into operation.

There is no doubt that President Carter's key sentence was the one in which he announced that the entire American nation could find itself in a situation where it was being held hostage by some other nations because of the United States' great dependence on foreign oil deliveries.

This dependence on foreign oil deliveries was described, for the first time, as a direct physical threat to U. S. national security, thus allowing the possibility for Washington to intervene militarily if these oil deliveries, which are of vital importance for the U. S. economy, are stopped.

This dangerous threat was uttered and it has definitely created a completely new situation, not only with regard to the conflict with Iran but also further afield. It has not gone unnoticed here that [words indistinct] members of the U. S. House of Representatives--in other words 54 congressmen--have signed a resolution demanding that the U. S. President serve Iran with a deadline for the release of the diplomats, after which the United States would be free to take military action.

Vjesnik on UN Actions

AU291450 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 79 pp 1,3 AU

[Excerpts] New York, Tehran, Washington, TANJUG--Having assessed that the tension in U. S.-Iranian relations had assumed proportions which seriously threatened peace and stability in the world, Kurt Waldheim has decided to use his powers as secretary general and announced that, after having thought it over for some time, he had sent a request to the president of the Security Council to call an urgent session to discuss the crisis situation in relations between the United States and Iran.

After consulting for several days with the highest U. S. officials and chiefs of staffs of all armed forces, President Carter said that his government does not wish any further delay over the freeing of the diplomats and that, unless that is achieved in a peaceful way, he will use "other possibilities permitted by the UN Charter." That was interpreted here as another indication that force may be used.

The secretary general's proposal was received in Washington with much reserve, because it is believed that the Security Council should not adopt any other decision but a demand to Iran to free the American diplomats.

Bani Sadr said that he was prepared to go to the United States to explain the Iranian position and "to prove that the Iranians are right when they request the extradition of the shah and, if necessary, to explain the problem to the American people."

He did not omit stressing that "he did not believe that the United States would take military action to free the hostages." According to him, the reason why the United States will not adopt such a method of solving the crisis lies above all "in the great determination of the Iranian people to defend its territory." But the Iranian minister did not mention the external reasons which may influence American restraint. Bani Sadr said that Iran is ready to fight and that the Iranians will fight "tooth and nail." At the same time he said that "he did not believe that the Muslim students holding the American Embassy in Tehran would carry out their threat to kill the hostages in case of invasion."

However, despite all statements, the real American potential to use its armed forces--the Navy, Air Force and paratroops--not only are technically almost impossible to carry out but would also bring extremely negative political results.

It is believed that even an announcement of a blockade of the Iranian coast by U. S. naval ships would bring results opposite to those desired.

First, Japan and the FRG would no longer be able to obtain oil from Iran--which would bring the two countries into an extremely unenviable situation--and second, such a move would meet with disapproval of other countries of the Persian Gulf. Another reason for believing that all the statements on the possible use of military force to free the hostages will probably remain mere words is the fact that it has become clear to Washington, too, that any American action of that sort would only strengthen the readiness of the Iranian revolutionary forces to resist and would strengthen the position of Iranian leader Khomeyni among the popular masses.

Because of all that, the initial nervousness and uncertainty in Washington have now been supplemented by gloomy feelings, particularly since the violent anti-American demonstrations in several Asian and Middle Eastern countries have shown that feelings are running extremely high and that assessments of the situation so far have been inaccurate.

DELO on U.S. TV 'Theatrics'

AU291242 Ljabljana DELO in Slovene 27 Nov 79 p 5 AU

[Dragisa Boskovic report]

[Excerpts] New York, 26 November--As there are no signs of any change regarding the fate of the U.S. hostages who are being held in Tehran for the third week, reporters dug up news that the secretary of state, who has been going without much sleep, took some time off over the weekend to go to his barber. Cyrus Vance had a haircut, several American newspapers reported on Sunday.

The news is perhaps not really without importance in this crisis in which great danger is, in a curious way, intertwined with events that impart to the whole affair the appearance of world television theater.

On the one side it seems that only a hair's breadth separates us from an outbreak of war: U.S. ships sail for the Iranian coasts, Pentagon officials "privately" discuss with journalists whether it is better to destroy Iranian planes on airfields or oil installations on the island of Khark, fires are breaking out in the Islamic world from Calcutta to Ismir, and New York banks are hurriedly trying to reclaim Iranian debts from "frozen" Tehran assets in America, to the horror of European financial centers and against all international rules.

On the other hand Ayatollah Khomeyni uses American television as if he were an American politician; he was prepared to tape an interview for the CBS show "60 Minutes", which is watched by at least 50 million people. Iranian Minister Bani Sadr, obviously on the defense, stated for American television that everything would be in order if Washington finally were to admit that Iran was weighty reasons for being angry with the former ruler.

Another scene which does not in the least resemble an omen of war occurred when an American television reporter asked Admiral Madani, commander of the Iranian Navy, what he would do if bombers took off from the carriers Midway and Kitty Hawk. The Iranian officer coolly answered that this was a political teaser and that probably nothing will happen.

When Washington placed responsibility on the Iranian Government instead of an "uncontrolled mob," it undoubtedly gave the crisis a new dimension. To Khomeyni's reply that Carter's threat of military force is but an election trick, the angry U.S. president retorted: If any of the American hostages are "harmd," the Iranian Government would "bear the grave consequences" of that act.

Administration officials understand the ambiguous definition of "harm" to include the possibility of the hostages being taken to court for espionage. Following such a grave statement, the administration was forced on Saturday to inform the world that reports of an imminent attack on Iran are unfounded.

CARTER RECEIVES AMBASSADOR LONCAR, PRAISES TITO

LD291048 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0910 GMT 29 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Washington, Nov 29 (TANJUG)--Evaluating the U.S.-Yugoslav relations as very positive, U.S. President Carter said yesterday that the policy of U.S. support for the independence, unity and territorial integrity of nonaligned Yugoslavia is a long-term one and based on bilaterally accepted principles of independence, equality and mutual appreciation.

Speaking while receiving credentials from the newly-appointed Yugoslav ambassador, Budimir Loncar, President Carter said that he greets in President Tito "a great man of our times". He emphasized President Tito's irreplaceable role in the creation and development of the policy and movement of nonalignment, and paid tribute to his efforts to have the policy of nonalignment be independent and original, and a constructive force which works for peace in international relations.

President Carter underlined that the forthcoming visit to Yugoslavia by U.S. Secretary of State Vance in mid-December would again reflect the desire for a continuation of this policy towards Yugoslavia and the importance the U.S. attaches to strengthening relations between the two countries.

PRC ACADEMY OF SCIENCES CHAIRMAN MEETS BELGRADE MAYOR

AU252105 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 79 p 5 AU

[Text] Belgrade --Zivorad Kdvacevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly, today received Hu Qiaomu, chairman of the Academy of Social Sciences and member of the CCP Central Committee. The chairman of the Chinese academy, who is currently visiting Belgrade as a guest of the SFRY Council of Academies of Sciences and Arts and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, showed interest in the development of Belgrade, particularly in the sociopolitical system in the city.

REPORTAGE ON NONALIGNED NEWS AGENCIES CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

Coordination Committee Elected

AU271042 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2117 GMT 24 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 24, (TANJUG)--At the closing session this evening, delegates to the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries' News Agency Pool and government representatives elected the new pool Coordination Committee: 10 from Africa, 8 from Asia, 5 from Latin America and 2 from Europe.

The new members of the pool Coordination Committee are: Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Iran, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the PLO, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Cuba, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Rwanda, Togo, Senegal, Mauritius, Kenya, Nigeria, Zambia, Tunisia, Sudan, Libya, Cyprus and Yugoslavia.

In the original African group's proposal Egypt was included as a candidate but its candidacy was rejected by the Arab countries. Africa originally proposed 11 candidates for ten seats in the Coordination Committee. Sudan, however, withdrew as a candidate in order to enable a smooth election of the new committee. After conference Chairman Pero Ivacic established the lack of accord on the proposal for Egypt to be elected to the Coordination Committee, Sudan, invited by the African group chairman, accepted its previous candidacy.

PLO, Egyptian Delegates Clash

AU262210 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 79 p 1 AU

[B. Marijanac report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 November--This morning at the Sava center the Second Conference of the Nonaligned Countries' News Agencies Pool and of representatives of the governments of nonaligned countries continued its work with the general debate on the past 3-year period of the pool's activities and the prospects for its further development and a closer cooperation between the news agencies involved.

All participants in the discussion at the morning session at the Sava center (there were 15 of them) expressed their satisfaction with the successful development of information exchange among nonaligned countries and the pool's increasingly greater role in the existing information system. A resolute support for strengthening cooperation between nonaligned countries was also pointed out.

At this morning's session the PLO delegate spoke on the suffering of the Palestinian people and in this connection sharply condemned the Camp David agreement. The representative of the Egyptian MENA agency reacted briskly to his speech and characterized it as "a political problem which is not on the agenda of this meeting." Following the intervention by several delegates and a proposal by Malta's delegate, the presidium of the session allowed the PLO representative to proceed and Egypt's representatives reserved their right to reply.

Pool Members Attack MENA

AU281945 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Nov 79 p 3 AU

[Correspondent Christine von Kohl report]

[Excerpt] Belgrade--At the nonaligned summit in Havana this summer the Arab states demanded the expulsion of the Egyptian MENA news agency. In the Coordination Committee, which met directly before the conference, a group led by Indian Chairman Manekar succeeded in heading off this motion with the following arguments: The pool is not a political but a professional forum; Egypt is a member of the nonaligned movement whose potential expulsion will only be discussed at next year's ministerial Conference, in line with the Havana decisions; every member is entitled to equal treatment.

At the Plenary Session under Yugoslav chairmanship, however, the Arab states and especially the PLO were not prevented from blasting the "traitor", Egypt, with long political declarations. Virtually in the last hour of the conference, on Saturday evening [24 November], this group succeeded in expressly excluding MENA from the Coordination Committee which in Belgrade was expanded from 15 to 25 members. The Yugoslav mass media did not say a single word about this important development.

Managua Picked for Next Conference

PA260444 Havana International Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 26 Nov 79 PA

[Text] Managua, Nicaragua's capital, has been chosen as the seat of the third conference of the nonaligned countries' news agency pool. The agreement was reached during the organization's second meeting, which closed today in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

During the recently concluded [words indistinct] the pool's new statutes and the countries of our hemisphere voiced their decision to create the Latin American federation of news agencies. The Belgrade meeting also called for a continuous flow of information among nonaligned countries in keeping with the decisions made at the movement's sixth summit held here in Havana last September.

TANJUG, PARS AGENCY SIGN COOPERATION AGREEMENT

LD272038 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Pero Ivacic, director of TANJUG, and Bashi Behzad, deputy director of PARS, today signed the first agreement on cooperation and exchange of information between TANJUG and the Iranian PARS news agency.

TANJUG and PARS agreed to exchange their services with the aim of developing the multi-lateral system of information organized by nonaligned countries within the framework of the news agencies pool. The agreement also provides for the exchange of features, bulletins and reportages between the Iranian and Yugoslav news agencies.

With the aim of carrying out the decisions of the Second Conference of the News Agencies Pool, the two sides agreed to cooperate closely in order to achieve a constant improvement of cooperation and exchange of services.

MATKALIEV EXPRESSES SATISFACTION OVER VISIT TO IRAQ

LD281854 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 27 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Stojan Matkaliev, member of the SIV [Federal Executive Council] and chairman of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry, accompanied by the members of the Yugoslav delegation, returned from his 4-day visit to Iraq today. In his statement to TANJUG at Surcin Airport, Matkaliev stressed that he was satisfied with his reception and with the talks he had with the president of the republic, Saddam Husayn at-Tikriti, and other government members. President Saddam Husayn had displayed a great interest in the Yugoslav delegation's stay and in the talks about economic cooperation between the two countries. He expressed the view that in the future, too, efforts should be made to increase the volume of commodity exchanges. He expressed particular satisfaction over the development of political relations between Iraq and Yugoslavia, stressing in this context President Tito's role and his contribution to the policy of nonalignment, Matkaliev said.

The Yugoslav delegation's visit to Iraq actually represents a continuation of the talks held a little earlier in Belgrade within the ambit of interstate committees. During the talks with Iraqi Oil Minister Tayih 'Abd-al-Karim, the possibility of enhancing cooperation between the oil industries of the two countries with an emphasis on a great participation of our organizations of associated labor in prospecting in Iraq was discussed.

Matkaliev also called on the minister of industry, Tahir at-Tawfiq, and discussed the promotion of industrial cooperation, especially in petrochemicals. Possible collaboration in industrial cooperation was also discussed.

The developments in commodity exchanges between the two countries here discussed in the talks with the minister of trade, Hasan 'Ali al-Amiri, who is also the chairman of the Iraqi part of the mixed committee. They noted that the exchange in both directions will amount to about \$1.1 billion. It was noted that this volume of trade did not express the possibilities of the economies of the two countries and it was decided that it would be a good thing to work on the promotion of and on a faster increase in commodity exchanges. In view of its extensive building activity--the building of industrial plants, irrigation systems, apartments and the like--the Iraqi side expressed its readiness, among other things, to import up to 300,000 tons of cement from Yugoslavia in 1980.

Although we also need this product, we expressed our readiness, Matkaliev said, to meet this request so as not to interrupt the dynamics of the intensive construction activity in which work organizations from Yugoslavia are taking part.

ALBANIAN AMBASSADOR IN BELGRADE HOLDS NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION

LD272352 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1836 GMT 27 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Sokrat Plaka, Albanian ambassador in Belgrade, held a formal reception this evening to mark the national day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The reception, which took place in a very cordial atmosphere, was attended by representatives of Yugoslavia's political, economic and cultural life.

Heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Yugoslavia also attended the reception.

INCREASED TRADE WITH ZAIRE SUPPORTED

LD270057 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2023 GMT 26 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Belgrade--At the second sitting of the mixed Zairian-Yugoslav commission, held in Belgrade, the delegations of the two countries reviewed all forms of cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical and cultural spheres, and also the development of commodity exchange, and stated that both sides should make new efforts to promote the appropriate development of economic cooperation and commodity exchange.

A 2-year program of scientific and technical and cultural cooperation was signed. The Zairian and Yugoslav delegations laid emphasis on the close friendly relations and cooperation existing between the two nonaligned countries, and expressed their conviction that the conclusions of this sitting of the mixed commission have laid a new basis for promotion of bilateral cooperation and in particular for commodity exchange. They expressed their readiness to realize the program of action adopted at the sixth summit conference of the nonaligned in Havana.

The delegations were headed by Bolela wa Boende, minister of state for international cooperation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Dusan Ilijevic, member of the Federal Executive Council.

MIKULIC DESCRIBES IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF LCY

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[Text] Belgrade--At the 10th LCY Congress Comrade Tito stressed that it is of decisive importance for the realization of the leading ideological and political role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that communists should be most active in the basic organizations of associated labor, local and self-managing interest communities, delegate assemblies, the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical and social organizations, units of the Yugoslav People's Army, etc. The meetings of the basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists, Comrade Tito said, are in fact only occasions when accord is reached on communists' action in the spheres of the working people's and citizens' self-managing and political activity. While being active in these organizations and organs, communists do not impose their attitudes, but are, democratically and on a completely equal footing with other working people and citizens, struggling for the most progressive solutions to individual questions and problems, namely, for the realization of the LCY's policy.

This was stated by Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in an interview given to the director of BORBA, Ivan Lovric, and the chief and executive editor Marko Lolic. Mikulic replied to a large number of questions concerning the topical problems of the League of Communists' activity and the realization of its leading ideological and political role in present-day conditions, the behavior and the moral image of communists, and the latter's attitude to the conclusions of the organs and organizations of the LCY.

Acting together with workers, working people and citizens and struggling, above all, to promote and consolidate socialist self-managing relations, i.e., to create increasingly favorable conditions for working people's decisionmaking on all questions of the policy of development both in their own self-managing organizations and in society, communists are influencing in the best and most effective manner the settling of unsolved problems and the carrying out of tasks in the development of our society, Mikulic said.

Mikulic stressed that this kind of activity, among other things, contributes to improvement in the contents of work and activity of the basic organizations of the LCY, consolidation of ideopolitical unity and action capability of the League of Communists and the "emerging" of the basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists from the narrow framework of their working and living environments into the broad spaces of self-managing decisionmaking by workers, working people and citizens on social policy as a whole.

Commenting on certain critical views on the situation in the League of Communists and its present activity, Mikulic said that such views should not be rejected out of hand, but that creative criticism should be encouraged. It goes without saying that some hasty over-all conclusions on the allegedly unsatisfactory situation in the League of Communists, its activity and so forth do not belong to this kind of criticism. We are justified in stressing that we are achieving valuable results in the country's internal development and that, by pursuing the nonaligned foreign policy, we keep strengthening our international position and our prestige in the world. These are undeniable facts.

However, the above-mentioned views and conclusions on the situation in the LCY and its activity, I am convinced, are also incorrect and absurd because, among other things, nothing has ever successfully been achieved in any field or sector of our development without the ideological and political involvement of the organs and organizations of the LCY and without the appropriate action of communists. On the contrary, complications, stoppages and difficulties have always occurred and keep occurring wherever self-management and the role of the League of Communists--in other words the significance of the organized involvement of the working class, working people and citizens in the settling of unsolved problems the self-managing way--have had too low a value placed on them.

Whenever difficulties have emerged, the technobureaucratic monopoly has tried and keeps trying to shift the responsibility for them on the organs and organizations of the League of Communists. This is true to the extent to which the organizations and organs of the League of Communists in certain organizations of associated labor and self-managing interest and sociopolitical communities have been unsuccessful in suppressing, through consistent struggle, the power of technobureaucracy, i.e., they failed to press for the political accountability of those who bear most of the blame for the fact that any particular policy, conclusions and measures are not being carried out. Members of the League of Communists are most frequently to be found among such people.

"Occasionally different views are heard on the character of the conclusions adopted by organs and organizations of the League of Communists, i.e., whether they can, on specific questions, adopt concrete attitudes which are binding on League of Communists' members."

Replying to this question, Mikulic said that these questions had been thoroughly debated during the preparations for the 10th and 11th LCY congresses and that attitudes had been adopted on the realization of the leading ideological and political role of the League of Communists in the present conditions of the struggle for the development and consolidation of self-management and the political system of socialist self-managing democracy.

Avoiding the danger of discussing and adopting conclusions on the same questions in the same manner as, let us say, the delegate assemblies--which could lead to the danger of the institutions and organizations of the political system not exercising their functions and responsibilities--the organs and organizations of the LCY can and should, in keeping with their role, discuss the unsolved questions and problems of the social, economic and other kinds of development and develop attitudes on them with regard to the ideological activity of communists in the delegate system, organs of self-management, sociopolitical and social organizations, that is, where the self-managing and political activity of the working masses is taking place. Naturally these attitudes are binding on communists, but they struggle for them through democratic debate and dialog with other working people and citizens and do not impose them. On the contrary, if one of these attitudes proves not to be good enough or cannot be implemented at a given moment, communists report this to their organs and organizations and ask that debate be opened at their meetings on specific questions and that specific conclusions be improved, developed and, when this is necessary, changed. Until this has been done any such conclusions are binding on the members of the League of Communists. They cannot change them as individuals, let alone act contrary to the conclusion adopted.

If this were brought into question, we would expose ourselves to the danger of undermining the principle of democratic centralism and legitimizing the right of individual members of the league of communists to act contrary to the policy and attitudes of the LCY, which, it goes without saying, would lead to the weakening of its ideological and political unity and action capability. The harmful consequences of this can easily be envisaged.

In the recent past quasiliberals gave currency to the thesis that the League of Communists "should not interfere," in other words that it should not concern itself with the questions and tasks which are discussed and on which decisions are made in self-management organs, assemblies, organs and other sociopolitical organizations and so forth, while the dogmatists demanded that "precise" attitudes be adopted on everything in the League of Communists and that the self-management and other organs and organizations be acquainted with them purely for the purpose of enabling them to carry them out. These theses and attitudes have not completely "disappeared" from the League of Communists. They are occasionally heard even today and may objectively imply support for this line even when this is not intended by those who utter them.

Speaking about opening the party to the working masses, so that it is an integral part of the workers' movement and other progressive forces, Mikulic said that this orientation had resulted, among other things, in the creation of the people's front, which gathered together all the progressive, democratic, patriotic forces. Rejecting the sectarian attitude of the Comintern on the struggle of "class against class," the party, within the framework of the people's front, made the preparations for all-people's resistance to the looming fascist threat, in other words for the national liberation struggle, which was to gather together all the democratic, patriotic and freedom-oriented people--workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, women and men, members of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Throughout the national liberation struggle and revolution their broad popular character was maintained and the leading role of the working class, i.e., its vanguard, was insured. People who were not members of the communist party, but tested patriots, were elected even to the most prominent offices in the organs of government and sociopolitical organizations. For instance, not a small number of members of the National Committee and councillors of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the leadership of the National Liberation Front of Yugoslavia and other anti-fascist organizations were not members of the party. The same was true of the regional councils of national liberation, national liberation committees and leaderships of all anti-fascist organizations in villages, towns, municipalities, districts and areas.

This policy continued also after the victory of the armed revolution. The party was active in the masses; it organized mass ideological and political work, influenced people, changed their way of thinking and involved them in the building of socialism.

This is still topical today no less than it was yesterday. Proceeding from this, at the eighth session of the LCY Central Committee attention was drawn to the dangerous form, and forms of, manifestations of sectarianism at this time. In this connection Mikulic also replied to a question about whether there is any sectarianism toward religious people and how it manifests itself.

This kind of sectarianism has never assumed serious proportions in the CPY or LCY. In other words, it has never had the support of a large number of members of the League of Communists. On the contrary, the Yugoslav communists have had and have correct ideas and political attitudes on religion and religious people. This is to say that the LCY considers that--let us say at this time--people should be judged according to their attitude to socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity and equality of nations and nationalities, the federal system, the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection, the policy of nonalignment and according to their moral qualities, and not according to whether they are atheists or believers. This last is the matter of personal conviction and is conditioned by a complex series of circumstances.

It should be stated, however, that there are individuals in the League of Communists who hold sectarian attitudes toward religious people. In fact, this is the matter of political blindness of--I shall repeat--individuals, which, if it were to spread anywhere could have foreseeable negative political consequences. This is so because, in the event of this happening, this would lead, in the environments in which it happened, to isolation of communists from that part of the population which, like the atheists, is for socialism, self-management and the policy of nonalignment, and religious people would be pushed into the arms of the reactionary clericalist elements. Consequently, even when it manifests itself in the form of individual cases, such sectarianism is harmful and represents a deviation from the policy of the League of Communists.

It may be useful to remind the exponents of this kind of sectarianism that both atheists and religious people went into the fire of the liberation struggle and the revolution and they laid down their lives for the cause of freedom together and with the same battle cries.

It goes without saying that when we are pointing out the harmfulness of this kind of sectarianism, Mikulic said, we do not mean to say that there is any need to correct our attitudes to the reactionary part of the clergy of all confessions or accept the demands of those who wish the church to be the representative of all the believers and individual nations in our society, to take part on behalf of all the believers in the political and public life and so forth, but that individuals should change their erroneous attitude to religious citizens, because objectively its effect is to strengthen the above-mentioned tendencies. The exponents of the reactionary clericalist orientation are fully aware of this and consequently are trying to convince believers that they are not equal in society, though they themselves know that this is a lie.

Behaving like "orthodox purists," the sectarians of this kind in the League of Communists, for instance, criticize members of the league, let us say, for not burying their parents and other close relatives who were believers, in an atheist manner; for attending the funerals of their kith and kin and friends when they are performed with religious rites and such like. Such sectarians should be asked: Should our old mothers who bore and weaned their children with patriotism and who sent them into revolution with mother's tears in their eyes, who brought up three, five and more communists, whose sons and daughters fell in the national liberation struggle, who--believing that in this way too they were guarding all Partisans as their own children--in all battles undid their hair, should these mothers who were not atheists be buried in an atheist manner? Who needs this and why? This has never been the attitude of our party and the League of Communists. The above-mentioned sectarian attitudes are politically harmful too, because they are inhuman and because they suggest on behalf of some kind of orthodoxy such a behavior by the LCY members; but communists must always in every one of their actions and deeds behave first and foremost as persons who set an example, as humanists.

By burying believers in a religious manner and by attending funerals which are performed with religious rites, LCY members do not participate in the religious rites but merely pay their respects to and in a human way take leave from those whom they had held in esteem, liked and with whom they had been comrades in their lifetime.

The exponents of this kind of sectarianism are mostly dogmatists and those individuals in the League of Communist who want to achieve some personal gain in this way. It is known, however, that some of these "orthodox atheists" had, following their expulsion from the League of Communists due to errors of a different kind, or because they had left the League of Communists of their own free will, found themselves in church and Muslim religious committees but also in the company of reactionary clericalists and nationalists, Mikulic said in the part of the interview dealing with sectarianism toward religious people.

Speaking about the dilemma whether we are in favor of a mass or a cadre party, Mikulic said that this too could lead to sectarianism toward people who wanted to become members of the League of Communists. Instead of facing this dilemma it would be much better were we to make an assessment about whether, when admitting new members, all basic organizations of the League of Communists adhere to certain criteria, There are evidently differences in this procedure.

For instance, decisions about the admission to the League of Communists of secondary school youth and students are easier to make than of workers in production organizations and of farmers. This is not a good thing and neither is the practice of mass admissions. In the admission policy, one should continue to advocate on the one hand, that all who meet the conditions for admission and who wish to become members of the league and who are ready to fight for the implementation of the league's program and policy should be admitted and, on the other hand, that nobody be admitted merely in order to increase the number of members of the League of Communists.

Speaking about the moral and political suitability for election to certain social, political, managerial and other functions and who is it who does not have moral and political qualities for such functions, Mikulic said:

In my view they are only those individuals who, in carrying out certain functions, have undermined the economic base of society (carried out fraud, embezzlement and similar deeds) or who have acted against socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity and equality of nations and nationalities, against independence and territorial integrity of the country or who have carried out both types of criminal acts simultaneously. Among them are also individuals who have compromised themselves, as servants of fascist occupiers, and who have been called to account for this.

I don't know of any country or of any social system which would not defend itself from individuals who have inflicted on it the kind of damage that was inflicted on us by the above-mentioned deeds. Our society, however, does not apply discriminatory methods toward anybody, not even toward those who have committed the above-mentioned acts, but makes it possible for them to be employed in jobs in which they will not be able to perpetrate criminal acts due to which they have been called to account, or abuse their position for activity against our social system and the independence of freedom of the SFRY.

Speaking of the moral values and the image of communists in the prewar period, in the course of the national liberation struggle and in the years of the country's reconstruction, Mikulic said that all those periods had been marked by high moral values and that what was common to them among other things was the very developed comradeship and loyalty to the goals of the revolution and to the working class.

Furthermore, a clear sentiment for brotherhood, unity and equality of nations and nationalities and their internationalist solidarity and (?reciprocity), militancy and courage, principled attitude, consistency and responsibility in implementing the adopted policy, a sense of being critical and self-critical, discipline, devotion, readiness for self-denials and sacrifices, personal modesty and the like were noticeable.

Replying to the question about the internationalist solidarity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, Mikulic said:

A full reply to this question would require much more time and space. On this occasion I will speak of only one of its aspects which is topical at present. We know that in our society joint material, social and political interests are being increasingly resolved, coordinated and satisfied by means of social negotiations and self-managing agreement-reaching and less and less by decisions adopted by state organs. This means that internationalist solidarity of the working people and of the nations and nationalities, at this time, too, has not only a material but also a deep social and political content and meaning. In neglecting this and in interpreting solidarity merely as a material "sacrifice" by some at the expense of others, or in an even more narrow sense as a social category, the technobureaucracy aims at depriving the internationalist solidarity of the working class and of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia of its socialist class content, that is, of its soul.

In view of this, too, we must never forget the significance and the immense results of the solidarity of the working class and the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia in their joint liberation struggle against occupiers and traitors at home in the reconstruction and construction of the country, in the resistance to the economic and political blockade, in the creation of conditions for the achievement, by joint forces, of the speedier development of production forces in all republics and provinces, in all elemental disasters which have befallen us, while deciding that Yugoslavia should be developed and built as a socialist self-managing society and a federal community of equal nations and nationalities, in our resolve to jointly defend and successfully the independence and territorial integrity of the SFRY, ect. Without that all of us would be that much poorer as regards our freedom, our national and human identity.

Such solidarity of the working class and of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia in their own country also has had, logically, a decisive influence on their selfless solidarity with the struggle of the working class and of peoples throughout the world for the social and national liberation and on Yugoslavia's involvement--and in particular of Comrade Tito's involvement--in the founding of the nonaligned movement, in the defense of the movement's unity and of the original principles of its policy for which it fights, namely, its independence and nonbloc character.

Many issues which have been outstanding for a long time we have already successfully resolved by means of social negotiations and self-managing agreement-reaching, Mikulic said. The existence of a variety of interests, that is of the pluralism of self-managing interests, cannot be denied or called to question. We agreed that in a democratic debate conducted by equals it is necessary to seek the most adequate solutions for these interests, that is to coordinate them and not to confront them with one another and with the joint and general interest. Such a voluntary coordination of various interests cannot be achieved hastily but only by pitting against them a multitude of arguments and by a democratic debate on them.

The "criticism" of the social negotiations and self-managing agreement-reaching, that is the exponents of statist-centralist tendencies, say that to reach solutions by negotiations agreement-reaching is a slow process.

It has been demonstrated, however, that this "slowness" is much more efficient, speedier and, it goes without saying, incomparably better than the alternatives offered by the above-mentioned forces. This can be substantiated by numerous facts. It would be useful to inform the public better of this. More should be written and said about this in the press and other information media. In this sense, BORBA, of course also has a very significant role and responsibility as the SAWPY organ and medium of all socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, Branko Mikulic said at the end of his interview.

TITO PRAISES HISTORY, ACTIVITIES OF YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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[Text] Bugojno--On 24 November Josip Broz Tito, president of the republic and of the LCY, received Borisav Dzuverovic, director of the paper MLADOST, and Zoran Erak, chief editor, in Bugojno. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Communist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia (SKOJ) he answered a series of questions from them, questions relating to the history of the revolutionary youth movement as well as today's activities by young people and the youth organization.

The first question was: This is the 60th jubilee year of the LCY (KPJ), SKOJ and the revolutionary trade unions. Comrade Tito, please tell us something about that significant event, the formation of SKOJ.

Answer: SKOJ has a united illustrious history with the Communist Party and the LCY. In the same year, 1919, when the KPJ was formed, SKOJ was also formed as a revolutionary organization of young people. The whole time, in the course of the last six decades, our progressive youth has distinguished itself by its militancy and revolutionary fervor. Even in the most difficult hours of our struggle they were on the side of those forces in the party which were fighting for its revolutionary consistency, purity and unity and, as early as the time of the ban [proscribing KPJ activity] in times when the behavior of part of the KPJ leadership was hesitant and in the period of factionalist struggles, the SKOJ supported the struggle against factionalism in the party and preserved its own unity and revolutionary spirit. The young people have never been infected by factionalism, which was very important for us.

The young people experienced well the weight of life's problems and they did not reconcile themselves to the regime of Yugoslavia at that time. That is why the party's progressive forces were able to find support for the struggle to overcome the social democratic inheritance in them. As early as that time I met with representatives of the youth movement. I also had meetings with the Croatian youth aktiv in Zagreb. Individuals among them behaved wonderfully and showed great heroism in resisting the class enemy. Among them were also some of the famous plaid of SKOJ secretaries who suffered during the absolutist dictatorship of King Alexander.

Question: What was the situation in SKOJ when you took over the leadership of the party?

Answer: After I came out of prison I noticed great changes in the revolutionary movement and also among the young people. The revolutionary spirit had taken over the broad masses of young people not just the young workers and students. The ideas of communism began to penetrate the young peasants also. In some areas at that time there were certain differences between the party leadership and SKOJ for the young people wanted broader and more resolute activity. They wanted action but some party leaderships did not understand this.

This was the time of preparation for the new war. but also a time of the strengthening of antifascism when strong youth movements rose up in many countries in the world. In our country, too, the communist party had to find the right answers to the questions which arose out of the young peoples militancy and revolutionary fervor. In this connection the Seventh COMINTERN Congress was of great significance. After this the Sixth Congress of the Communist Youth International was held. In the spirit of the decisions of these congresses SKOJ had to become the core of the broader youth movement. Boris Kidric, then secretary of SKOJ, had a great role in this. I had met him in Ljubljana a long time before, in 1934, and I proposed that he become involved in work with young people. He was also in Moscow at the youth congress. Kidric then began the reorganization of SKOJ. However, he was soon arrested and many members of the party and SKOJ leadership had not understood the nature of that reorganization. When I came back to Yugoslavia in 1936, I saw that there was great confusion in the ranks of the young people, for instead of SKOJ becoming the nucleus of the broader youth movement, it happened that individual youth organizations were even disbanded. It was clear that the party had to offer help to the young people.

Question: From the prewar volumes which were recently published as part of your collected works, it is clear, Comrade Tito, that you were quite heavily involved with the problems of SKOJ and the young people.

Answer: When I came back to Yugoslavia at the end of 1936, I particularly wanted to find out about the situation among the young people. I considered this to be one of the party's most important tasks. I had several conversations with representatives of young people from Croatia and Slovenia and also invited representatives from Serbia and from Belgrade. It was then that I met Lola Ribar. I saw immediately that he was an enthusiastic, energetic and educated young communist. That is why I proposed him as secretary of the Central Youth Commission.

Question: At that time you also wrote the famous article entitled "SKOJ on the New path," didn't you?

Answer: Yes. I was then heading a commission which had been formed by the Central Committee. Its task was, on the basis of all these reports and realizations, to propose measures to revive and strengthen the youth movement.

We devoted great attention to SKOJ in the whole process of our struggle for the consolidation and strengthening of the party, in the struggle against sectarianism, the struggle for the liquidation of new dangers of factionalism and so forth. We considered that the struggle against war, against fascism and for better living conditions, for the country's independence and for the resolution of the national question, which had always been complex in Yugoslavia, were precisely those great aims which can rally the broadest masses of the revolutionary young people. Of course, it was very important to win the confidence of the young people, regardless of their political, ideological and national orientation. It was particularly important to approach the young people living under the influence of religious and other prejudices and win them over to the broadest antifascist and national liberation platform. Part of the young people were under the influence of bourgeois parties. But then we had SKOJ and generally wonderful young people who were ready to fight for the ideas of socialism and communism.

The results achieved by this policy of ours are best illustrated by the following fact. In the mid-thirties there were far fewer SKOJ members than party members, was precisely because there was insufficient breadth in its work. On the eve of the fascist attack on our country SKOJ had more than 40,000 members.

Question: Such an orientation also had a logical effect on massive participation by young communists, SKOJ members and the progressive young people in the armed struggle and the revolution. Please tell us something about the unforgettable heroism of the young people, which will permanently serve as an example and stimulus.

Answer: I have spoken several times about the role and heroism of the young people in our liberation war and revolution. But on this occasion I should also like to recall the wonderful examples of heroism and self-sacrifice by the young people, starting from the first actions carried out by young people in occupied towns against the occupying forces and traitors to the later achievements in offensive and skirmishes on the battlefield. The Young Communists and SKOJ members always set an example and were the strong support of the party and a powerful force of military units.

As is well known, thousands of young fighters joined in our national liberation army. They were from various environments and with various ideas. One day when I was talking to some comrades from Bosnia and Hercegovina I recalled an event which had taken place in Foca, when a group of schoolchildren and students arrived from Sarajevo. When I asked them what stimulated them to come to us, they said: "You can see us. We are young and healthy and it would be shameful for us to sit around somewhere and not fight." It was the same wherever we went. Although those were difficult times, when many suffered and died, you never heard complaining from the young ones, only singing. I know what problems many parents had in keeping their sons and daughters from joining us. The young came to us in droves and it is fortunate that they followed our path. This is the way it should be in the future, too.

Question: It is well known that great attention was devoted to the promotion of young people during that time of war.

Answer: The Communist Party and SKOJ had a decisive influence on both military training and general education, as well as on raising the ideopolitical consciousness of these young antifascists. In this way they gradually adopted the basic ideas of scientific socialism and many became members of SKOJ and the KPJ.

In conditions of revolutionary struggle the young people matured quickly. Then they could be given responsible military and political duties. As a result of the work of the party and SKOJ a large number of brave commanders and political commissars grew out of illiterate and semiliterate young boys and girls during the revolution. They became capable sociopolitical workers and leaders in the youth and party organization, organs of revolutionary popular power and in institutions and representative bodies in the new socialist state.

The young communists had a particular feeling for brotherhood and unity, for the equality of the nations and nationalities in our country, both during the war and throughout the postwar period. This was proof of their correct orientation in this sphere as well. In creating young people's organizations on a national basis, the party also found the correct forms for strengthening the youth movement. The young people were enabled, with all the rights they gained through the struggle, to participate also in setting the foundations of our new federal and democratic socialist community.

Question: By their nature young people tend toward change and progress of their energies are channeled correctly. You spoke about this as early as 1936 in PROLETER and called for a broadening of SKOJ's activities and participation by young people in everything of social significance for life.

How do you view this side of the activities of young people and the Socialist Youth Federation in today's conditions?

Answer: The amount that the youth of Yugoslavia gave in the course of the national liberation struggle is well known, but I should also like to emphasize today, too, what is of enormous significance for the revolutionary movement of young people in our country. I am thinking of the need for the greatest possible breadth of the youth movement. Of course, today's conditions are very different from those previously. Today nearly half of the membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are young people under 30. I am surprised that the Socialist Youth Federation has not managed in some environments to rally the majority of young people, particularly in the universities and in the countryside. The mood of the young people is both socialist and patriotic but, despite this, we must not be content with their involvement in self-management. This means that the work of the LCY with young people is not good, either. Young members of the LCY must be more active among young people. In this respect they have a great responsibility.

Young people should know that this society is theirs and that it offers them good prospects. But they themselves must struggle, through the organs of self-management and everywhere else for their progress, for the interests of our socialist community and for their own interests.

When one mentions the contribution of young people in the past some people today say: Those were different times, war and revolution, "happy" time. Then, they say, they had something to fight for. I say: Today, too, there is something to fight for. We not only need to preserve what we have achieved but we also need to constantly build anew. In any case, I would not wish anyone to have to live through war and cataclysm, everything that we had to experience. But it is good to know the past, because today, when our people have experienced the benefit of socialism, young people do not know what it was like at one time, what it was like to work for poor pay and in conditions of fighting for the 9-hour working day.

The traditions of SKOJ and of our youth movement as a whole are really glorious. We should recall all the virtues of our young people, particularly in wartime, and all the ethical values which were developed. Of course, we have to link this with today and enrich it with the new contents of our socialist self-management society. There must be more of this activity. In general we should not wait for a young man to become older so that only then does he affirm himself and become active. The breadth of the movement alone is not sufficient; action is needed.

This time too, I am stressing that we have wonderful young people; I am satisfied with the young people. But I cannot say that I am also completely satisfied with the work of the youth organization. The Socialist Youth Federation, like the other sociopolitical and social organizations, needs to be more oriented toward solving current and long-term problems in the development of socialist self-management, the realization of the stabilization policy, the promotion of the system of distribution according to work, the reform of education, the improvement of living and working conditions of working people and citizens--and that includes young people--and the solving of specific questions and problems of young people today. Only in this way will young people and the Socialist Youth Federation be in the mainstream of life. Only in this way can we avoid the dangers of the youth organization, and especially its organs, being intermediaries between young people and society, as well as possible tendencies in decision-making on policy which is carried out in society being organized by representatives instead of young people. These representatives would be mainly officials in Socialist Youth Federation organs.

Question: Comrade president, we must say that today's generation of young people have problems with employment and accommodation and the reform of education is being carried out rather slowly. All this affects young people. Young people understand the difficulties which exist but do they expect some problems to be solved more quickly?

Answer: You know, in the post war period a large number of people left the countryside for the towns. The structure of our population changed so quickly that it was unheard of in modern history. Today there is approximately 30 percent of the population in the countryside, while in 1945 there was approximately 75 percent. Unfortunately we still cannot insure work for all those who want it, or when and where they want it, not to mention that not everyone can stay in the big towns. No society or country can bear this.

However, despite these difficulties, I wish to emphasize that the most important thing is for young people to work as hard as possible on their training. We need a work force that is as highly qualified as possible, with as many experts as possible. Naturally, these should not be experts of just any kind. That is why our schools should take care to train young people, above all, for those jobs for which there are not enough people. There are many such jobs. Of course, more favorable conditions for employing more young people can and must be created in another way. For example, overtime is tolerated too much in our country.

It is true that there is overtime which is necessary, but there is also overtime which is motivated by pay rather than the real need for production. It is good that the youth organization points this out. I hear that you are in favor of introducing new shifts in factories where this is possible. This too is good, to the extent to which it is in accordance with the demands of production and the market.

Apart from this, there are whole areas of our country in which the number of young people is rapidly diminishing. With the further expansion and modernization of agricultural production we must create conditions for young people to be interested and to remain in the countryside. Also, the rapid development of tourism and of the so-called artisan industry should open up new possibilities for the employment of young people. In my opinion, more could be done by a better regional distribution of investments. In many cases it is more rational for our community for investments to go where the workforce is rather than being concentrated in the big towns and industrial centers. I spoke about this recently when I was in Kosovo.

As regards the housing problem we can resolve it only by successfully carrying out the entire program of housing construction. Young people are not demanding to be ahead in the queue of those who have on their records extensive labor experience and who have been waiting for an apartment for a long time but they must have a clear perspective, they must know when it will be possible for this great vital problem of theirs to be resolved. In this the greatest attention must be paid to the housing problem of young families.

Question: A movement is in progress in our country concerned with the adaptation of the educational system to the entire social development. Young people do not resist production jobs but the fact is that production work is not valued sufficiently. Should something be changed in this respect?

Answer: As long as the 10th LCY Congress we defined the aim of the reform of the entire educational system, which must keep pace adequately with the changes and needs in the development of our production forces. It must be integrated in our entire economic and general development. In fact, what is at stake is that the schools train young people for life, for work and for the future in the best possible way.

An educational system which is not capable of doing this must be considered to be traditional and obsolete. Of course, changes do not take place either easily or speedily. Everything new experiences birth pangs. There is also resistance. But there is also at times hastiness and not enough examination of all the aspects of education. However, the struggle for the new type of school is in the interest both of the young people and of society as a whole. One of the basic goals in this is to create conditions in order that those who work in production might have the opportunity to receive further education and to perfect their knowledge.

We are among countries with the highest numbers of students in the world per capita, but studies last twice as long than envisaged. This cannot continue. The students' structure, too, is no longer in line with our social needs. Young people orient themselves mainly toward the humanities and less toward technical studies although there is a shortage of experts of many kinds. I have also heard that not enough trust is shown for young people's participation in self-management in schools and at universities and that much of what is old frantically opposes any change whatsoever. The League of Communists and the Socialist Youth Federation should fight for young people's greater involvement. This stems necessarily from the very essence of our socialist self-managing society.

Question: You have, Comrade Tito, spoken on many occasions about youth labor drives and you have personally done a lot to have the youth labor drive develop into an irreplaceable tradition. At present there are a large number of actions and initiatives throughout the country. Young people are afraid that those who plan and envisage could perhaps forget us or restrict the scope of and possibilities for such actions in the future?

Answer: It is well known that I have supported youth labor drives from the very beginning and that I also support them today. Young people have truly, in particular in the first postwar years, written glorious pages of our struggle for the reconstruction and development of our country. They have made a great contribution to the development of our society. There was a time when there was some stagnation in this respect and I was very happy when the necessary attention began again to be paid to voluntary youth work. I was also pleased about the new generations of young construction workers--and this is normal--enjoying increasingly better material conditions for such work.

I am following the results which are being achieved in present-day youth labor drives and I can say that I am satisfied. What pleases me particularly is the fact that the number of young people who wish to participate in them is continually growing. This readiness of our young people represents a large social capital of which our country can be proud. It would be a great pity if the possibilities for continually turning this youthful enthusiasm into relevant action were not insured.

In addition to federal and republican youth labor drives, I think that every sociopolitical community which adopts its own development plans should think about the way in which it might engage young people and in what projects. Economic reasons, too, advocate such a need.

Of course, I have never believed that results are the most essential thing in labor drives, the so-called bare work, the struggle with the amount of work done and such like. I have always, in the first place, spoken about their political and educational nature. I have been stressing that this collective participation in construction represents a particularly significant form of educating young people, including the acquisition of self-managing knowledge.

Young people are very interested--and this is praiseworthy--in meeting one another and forming friendships, in getting to know one another and drawing closer to one another. Youth labor drives, in which young people from all parts of the country meet, represent the best opportunity for this. In this way lasting ties of friendship are formed which is of great significance for consolidating brotherhood and unity.

Question: Comrade Tito, you are often stressing the exceptional importance of brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. Young people have always heeded these warnings of yours with deep understanding and have contributed very much to the implementation of the idea of brotherhood and unity and to their continuous expansion and consolidation. What do you consider at this juncture as the most important thing to preserve and further consolidate brotherhood and unity and to which should the young pay the greatest attention?

Answer: In all the periods of the revolutionary struggle the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has been attaching the greatest significance to resolving the national question in our country, to the developing of brotherhood and unity and to the consolidation of equality. Our experience has shown us that this is not a question which can be resolved once and for all. As you know, we had from time to time also certain weaknesses and even nationalistic types of behavior in the very ranks of the League of Communists. We had to combat this energetically and we had to prevent the dangers from nationalism and chauvinism being underrated or such tendencies tolerated. After all, it was not so long ago that the enemy had sown hatred among our peoples and fanned fratricidal war. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia and broad popular masses, including the young, must continue to fight with every ounce of their strength against nationalistic tendencies and for brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities.

A few days ago in my talks with sportsmen from Tuzla I also spoke of Yugoslavdom. I mentioned that I had read some 10 or so years ago how the young people in large numbers had been coming out in favor of Yugoslavdom. I think that this had been partly a reaction to the nationalism phenomena and partly also the aspiration to stress the significance and the spirit of our brotherhood and unity and of our belonging to the unified Yugoslav socialist self-managing community. I liked that, because, truly, only a firm and united Yugoslavia represents a significant force. Only as such does it occupy a notable place on the world scene. Our country has never had the kind of prestige it has today. This is due, first and foremost, to the fact that we are united. It goes without saying, that nobody in our country need renounce his national affiliation, but all of us are at the same time also Yugoslav.

We must continue to safeguard carefully brotherhood and unity. We must continue to be in solidarity with one another. Let us take, for example, elemental disasters. I was in Igalo when that terrible earthquake took place. As early as the afternoon of the same day messages were pouring in from all over the place and help for everything was offered. Nobody asked what did it cost: Everybody wanted to help. Well, this is an expression of our togetherness and of our solidarity which we have to safeguard.

Brotherhood and unity represent a great guarantee of our future. We must never lag behind in the struggle for brotherhood and unity. We have always had enemies. Many people who were on the other side after the war have reeducated themselves. To achieve and safeguard such unity in our country is no easy matter. In this respect I place much hope in our young people.

Young people should turn their attention to yet another matter. You see also for yourselves that individual events of the past are often misinterpreted and even misused. But we have a growing number of young scientific workers, sociologists, historians and others.

Let them, in the first place, involve themselves as much as possible in the objective Marxist interpretation of both the past and present-day trends and phenomena. Much greater ideopolitical militancy is needed on the broadest social level.

Question: The young people are looking daily for new forms of cultural expression and entertainment. New forms of entertainment are very popular with young people but in the public they receive controversial interpretation. These are popular concerts of modern entertainment music. Would you like to say something, Comrade Tito, about entertainment and about this cultural conduct and expression by young people?

Answer: There is nothing more natural than the desire of the young people to enjoy themselves. In this respect every time and each generation have both specific requirements and the ways and means of satisfying them. I see nothing negative in the fact that certain forms of entertainment music are popular with the young people today. I believe that every kind of entertainment is good if it is cultural and human. However, it seems that in some of this entertainment there is too much craving for fashion, emulation of some foreign models and the like. There are also cases of unseemly behavior by individuals or groups which sometimes puts a particular stamp on the whole show and leaves a nasty taste in one's mouth. The fault does not lie only with this section, a small section, or our young people. The fault also lies with those who through carelessness or who, motivated by commercial reasons, uncritically import foreign entertainment programs and offer them to our young people via records, transmissions and various public shows. The critical spirit of the young people has to be developed so that they themselves should consciously resist bad taste and everything which does not contribute to the ennoblement and humanization of the personality of young people and so that they should orient themselves to true values in this sphere.

Question: A few days ago you spoke about sports in which we are particularly interested because young people like to engage in sports.

Answer: Sports in our country are developing successfully, but there are shortcomings too. Sport must be sport and it must be free of various negative passions and commercialism as much as possible. There are cases, especially when what is involved is to obtain athletes when attempts are made to recruit young people who, as it were, have not yet started their life by making them attractive material offers. This disrupts good relations in sports and has a negative effect on the education of young people. This is why I said that sports must be clean and free from various unhealthy political and other frictions. It is particularly dangerous, both for our society and for sports organizations, if manifestations of national intolerance were to be permitted in sports. Young people should vigorously rise against such manifestations.

Of course, the more widespread sports are the better. Through sports young people develop a collective spirit and the formation of their socialist consciousness is aided, quite apart from the fact that one becomes physically fit. As a young man I was interested in gymnastics and fencing and now mostly in hunting.

I should like to stress the importance of some special organizations which gather together the young people such as scouts, the holiday organizations, the research organization, the mountain organization, popular technology and others. These organizations help young people to spend their free time usefully and to prepare themselves for life through these activities. All these things are important for the life orientation of young people, for their education and culture as a whole. In all these activities amateurism must be nurtured even more. Before the war we did it in much more difficult conditions and in so doing we rallied together the young people and linked them to the movement.

When building schools and apartment blocks one should take into account as much as possible the fact that accommodation for sport; culture life and youth entertainment should either be built or space for it provided. In this respect young people can do a great deal here with their voluntary work.

Question: In conclusion, one question about the progressive press. We believe MLADOST to be a successor of the traditions of the SKOJ paper CRVENA ZASTAVA and of other youth organs during the historic six decades. How do you see the role and tasks of the youth press today?

Answer: I think that the youth press today must be in keeping as much as possible with the revolutionary development of our society and as committed as possible in general. The young people have something to say and they must do it without hesitation. That is to say, not only on major social questions but also when arts, film, youth entertainment, sports and the like are involved. The Federation of Socialist Youth will be all the more attractive to young people the more the federation makes it possible for them through their organization--and this also means through the press--to express their wishes and their aspirations.

The role of the youth press in ideopolitical education of young people is great. So is its responsibility because its activity must be fully in keeping with the policy of the LCY. Our activities, the problems which we are confronting and the measures which we are taking to resolve them must be comprehensively explained to young people. This is particularly important now when we must overcome many difficulties in our struggle for economic stabilization. Of course, in so doing the youth papers must measure up to our revolutionary traditions and the present-day responsible tasks facing our young generation. [answer ends]

Thank you, Comrade Tito, for these exhaustive replies. You have always supported the young people...

And the young people always support me, President Tito said in conclusion.

CONFERENCE POINTS OUT IMPORTANCE OF SOCIALIZING RADIO, TELEVISION

AUL71434 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 79 AU

[Text] Today in Pristina, Mahmut Bakali, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, received representatives of the organizations of the League of Communists of all radio and television centers of Yugoslavia. These representatives are attending a consultative conference on the essential aspects of socialization of radio and television. In this connection, Mahmut Bakali pointed out the importance of the socialization of public information media.

Dobroslov Culafic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was one of the speakers at the conference. He characterized the socialization of the public information media as one of the essential components of the struggle for the socialist self-managing relations and democratization.